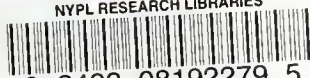


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HISTORY OF
BROWN COUNTY
WISCONSIN

PAST AND PRESENT

By DEBORAH B. MARTIN

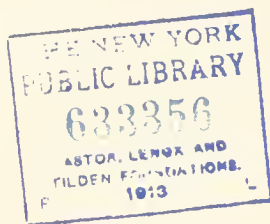
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VOLUME I

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PREFACE

Brown county comprises that portion of Wisconsin lying at the southern extremity of a great arm of Lake Michigan, known from early times as Baye des Puans, la grande baye and finally Green Bay. This fine sheet of water ninety miles in length, joins the lake through many deep and navigable channels at Death's Door, where it attains a breadth of some thirty miles. In shape the bay resembles a mammoth Indian celt, and extending in a south-westerly direction gradually narrows from its widest part until its span does not exceed five miles. At its extreme point is situated the county seat, Green Bay, a city with a population of 30,000.

The County's area is five hundred and eighteen square miles, twenty-four from its widest point from east to west, and thirty from north to south. On the north it is bounded by the bay and Oconto county, east by Kewaunee and Manitowoc counties, south by Manitowoc, Calumet and a small corner of Outagamie while Shawano and Outagamie counties form its western limit. The Oneida reservation lies half and half in Brown and Outagamie counties.

Fox river cuts off the County's northwest corner, zigzagging toward the bay between wooded and fertile shores; Wrightstown is the last river town within Brown county limits.

On Green Bay the county's water line extends for fifteen miles along the western shore and a like distance on the eastern. Fox river gives a frontage of twenty miles on either shore; East river flowing into the Fox near its mouth is navigable for some four miles. Both streams are extensively used for manufacturing purposes, and the entire inland area is largely devoted to dairying and agricultural pursuits.

The towns fronting on the bay are Suamico, Howard, Preble, Scott and Green Bay; those on the Fox river are Lawrence, Ashwaubenon, Wrightstown, Rockland, Depere, Allouez and Preble. Inland lie Morrison, Holland, Glenmore, New Denmark, Eaton, Humboldt and Pittsfield.

The population of Brown county according to the census of 1910 is 54,098, and is composed of widely diverse nationalities. The original settlement was made by French Canadians, followed by English, Americans, Germans, Belgians, Flemish, Irish, Hollanders, Scandinavians, Danes, Bohemians and Poles.

Although originally Brown county stood for the whole state it has been mercilessly shorn of its generous proportions until at the present time in the seventy-one counties now comprising Wisconsin, Brown stands fifty-six in point of size, the remaining fifty-five averaging anywhere from 1,497 square miles down the scale. Shawano in its secession took from Brown 1,135 square miles, Outagamie 634, the little counties of Kewaunee and Door 274 and 454

respectively; Manitowoc 590 square miles, and so on through the acres of fertile land composing the twenty-two counties that were cut off from Brown.

Notwithstanding this ruthless hacking away from the parent stem, Brown county continues to be regarded as the most important in Wisconsin.

In point of history the rest of the state is obliged to stand as a blank number up to 1840, while Brown county furnishes interesting material by the volume for every United States history that finds its way to the public library shelves.

It is a wealthy county, the assessed valuation in the government census of 1910 placing it twelfth in the long line of its larger sister counties. In population to the square mile Brown stands fifth in the state, the counties averaging higher being Kenosha, Milwaukee, Racine and Winnebago.

The total farm acreage is 301,519, on which 3,615 farms are located. Of these 3,349 are owned and operated by the farmer himself, 246 are under lease, and 20 are owned by farmers who employ a manager to look after the property.

Green Bay, the county seat, is one of the most thriving and progressive business cities in the United States, with the handsomest courthouse in the west. It guards the gate of the waterway which connects the St. Lawrence valley with that of the Mississippi, and is a central shipping point for coal and grain.

Milwaukee, at present the largest city in Wisconsin, was originally platted and owned by Green Bay men, who had, however, largely disposed of their interests by 1855; the lead mines in southern Wisconsin were first controlled and operated by Green Bay capital, the tremendous water power of the Fox River valley was made available and of value through the progressive business spirit of Brown county men, and Wisconsin's capital, Madison, was first located, platted and named by Judge Doty, a prominent political leader in Brown county.

In the formation of the territory and state of Wisconsin, and in the organization of state, county and town government the men of this county took prominent part. The public press of Wisconsin had its beginnings here, and on the shores of Fox river the first advance toward permanent civilization and educational enlightenment was made.

In compiling this history I have received valuable aid from my sister, Sarah Greene Martin, and from many others who have kindly given me permission to use manuscripts and family papers never before published. Among these may be mentioned Mrs. Curtis R. Merrill, Mrs. H. O. Crane, F. W. Taylor, J. H. M. Wigman, of Green Bay; and M. J. Maes, of De Pere; also Francis Bloodgood, of Milwaukee, who allowed the insertion of the interesting letter written by Lieutenant Henry H. Loring to Mr. Bloodgood's mother, Caroline Whistler, then a girl of sixteen at Fort Howard.

Thanks are also due Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary and superintendent of the State Historical Society; Fredrik T. Thwaites of Madison, Arthur C. Neville, President of the Green Bay Historical Society; Mrs. Dorr Clark, Albert L. Gray, Elmer S. Hall, Clerk of Brown county, and Judge Carlton Merrill.

(Reference, Wisconsin Blue Book, 1911.)

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History of Brown County

CHAPTER I

BROWN COUNTY BOUNDARIES

Brown county once embraced half the area of what is now Wisconsin, but it has been gradually lopped off in every direction until reduced to the present size. Twenty-two counties have been carved from Brown, which when erected by proclamation of Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan Territory, on October twenty-sixth, 1818, had for its boundaries; north, the county of Michilimackinac; east, that county and the northward extension of the line between Indiana and Illinois; west by a line drawn due north from the Illinois boundary, through the middle of the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, extending to the county of Michilimackinac. The Illinois line formed the southern boundary.

The territory which now comprises Brown county has been subject to many jurisdictions, but always the land lying between De Pere and Green Bay formed its center and capital. It was an important post under the old French regime from 1669 to 1759—it then came under British rule and remained practically a British colony until after the war of 1812.

Under the ordinance of 1787, this section of country was included in the great Northwest Territory, defined as "The territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio," the boundaries of which were understood to be the Ohio river on the south, the Mississippi river on the west, while on the north the territorial limit was the undefined and unsettled line between the British possessions and the United States.

The area included in the original county of Brown was afterward added to the Territory of Ohio, then was transferred to Indiana with the county seat at old Vincennes; later it became a part of Illinois, and when Illinois attained statehood in 1805 was handed over to Michigan which was set off as a separate territory on January eleventh, 1805.

In 1834 Milwaukee county was set off from Brown and the western boundary of the latter was enlarged to extend to the Wisconsin river. In 1836 the entire counties of Sheboygan, Fond du Lac, Manitowoc and Marquette, likewise the townships of Washington, Dodge and Portage were taken from Brown.

Between the years 1840 and 1850 Winnebago and Calumet counties were erected from a portion of Brown and Marquette, Portage and Manitowoc counties enlarged from the same source.

In 1851 Oconto county was pared off from the parent stem and in the same year Door and Kewaunee counties were also carved out of Brown. Later in that same year Outagamie county was erected from the remaining area of Brown, which was by this act reduced to its present boundaries.

All this territory originally forming an integral part of Brown county and which was cut from it to make these thirteen counties was in succeeding years subdivided until twenty-two counties in all mark the original limits of old Brown.

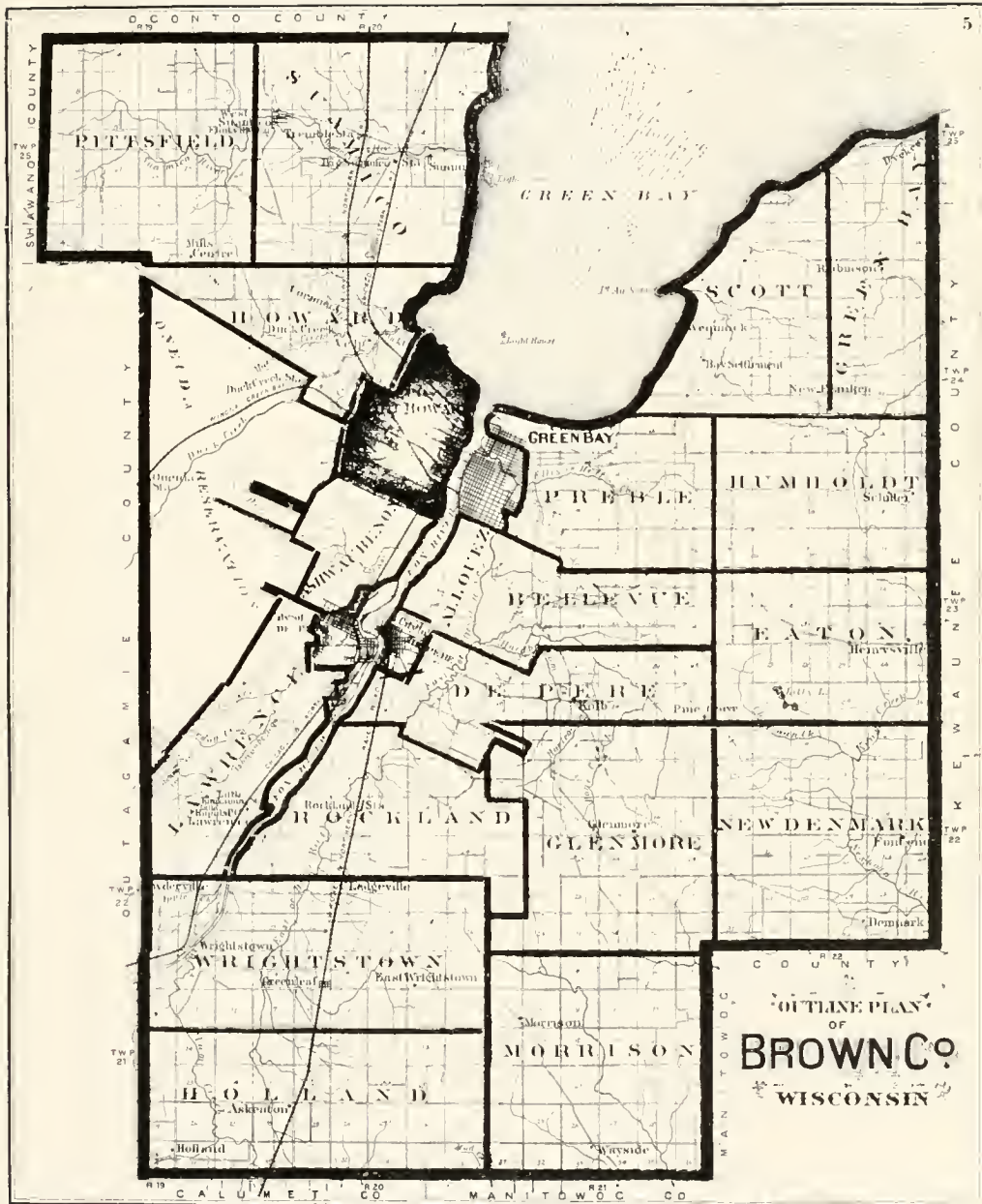
The county received its name in honor of Major-General Jacob Brown of the United States army, a successful leader in the war of 1812. At its close he retained the command of the northern division, and in 1821 was made General-in-Chief of the army.

The fur trade was for two centuries the absorbing commercial interest of this region. It began with the coming of the first Frenchman and continued uninterruptedly until there were no fur bearing animals of any value left in the woods to tempt the trapper. This portion of Brown County's history may be defined from the coming of Jean Nicolet in 1634 to 1844 when the American Fur Company wound up its business affairs in Green Bay for all time.

Already the lumber industry had taken hold of the people and as the fur trade declined the great forests of pine, birch, maple, and hemlock called for the erection of mills to utilize the supply of timber. This formed the largest interest in Brown county up to 1875, when practically no timber remained to be cut into lumber. The export of fish grew to be also a valuable factor in Brown county's prosperity, and the extensive fisheries were a valuable asset in its wealth.

The necessary clearing away of the dense forests for milling purposes and the consumption of waste timber in the great charcoal kilns during the period when the iron furnaces were in full blast in De Pere and Green Bay, furnished another avenue for labor and one that ensured more lasting and safer profits than any preceding venture. Agriculture and dairying inaugurated still another industrial era, the best as far as substantial growth is concerned. Brown county soil is rich and productive and the profits upon a single good crop today amount to more than all the pecuniary gains won from the forest. De Pere because of its water power was always a manufacturing center and Green Bay has within recent years advanced rapidly in this direction, as have also Wrightstown and Little Rapids, but the backbone of Brown county's prosperity is agriculture and the systematic scientific tilling of the soil.

(References for Chapter I: Wis. Blue Book, 1911; Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. 2; Strong's Territorial Wisconsin; L. P. Kellogg's Boundaries of Wisconsin Counties; Wis. Hist. Proc., 1909.)



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CHAPTER II

GEOLOGY

The geological history of Brown county is full of interest. The oldest geological formations exposed within the limits of the county are of limestone and shale. These rocks contain abundant remains called fossils, of animals which must once have lived in the sea, a fact clearly indicating that the region was once submerged.

Millions of years ago a rather shallow sea covered a large part of North America, and in it accumulated mud and sand, worn from the unsubmerged portions of the continent. At times when no land waste was present, the remains of marine animals covered the sea bottom, thus forming considerable deposits of shells and lime mud.

After an immense lapse of time, in which several hundred feet of such material gathered, a gradual uplift transformed the region into dry land. The lime muds hardened into limestone, the shells into fossils, and the clay muds into shale. Within the limits of Brown county occurred two thick formations of limestone separated by a bed of shale. These three formations were tilted in the course of the uplift, so that they descend gradually towards the east. On the west side of the county occurs what is known as the "Galena" limestone. This rock does not everywhere reach the surface, but is the first solid rock found beneath the soil, and other loose material. It is the rock found in the quarries at Duck Creek.

East of the belt underlaid by this limestone is a band only a few miles wide where the "Cincinnati" shale is the "bed rock" or "ledge." It is seldom seen at the surface, except at the foot of some of the cliffs on Green Bay, this fact being due to the ease with which the weather breaks it down into loose clay. These cliffs with their fretted and escarped surfaces add beauty to the shores of the bay. Rising abruptly from the water's edge they simulate here and there the ruins of some mediaeval castle carved into curious semblance of casement and column and hung with a soft green drapery of vines and evergreens.

East of the shale and lying on top of it as it passes beneath the surface is the "Niagara" limestone. This hard rock forms the backbone of the great ridge of eastern Wisconsin. Beginning to the east of Horicon it stretches north through Door county continuing thence beneath the water where it is revealed by soundings until it rises again on the Michigan shore. It is traceable in local names, "the ledge" "Winnebago ridge" "the cascade"; is an adjunct of picturesque beauty to the landscape, and for many generations has furnished picknicking grounds for hosts of juveniles. Gashed by chasms, where at certain seasons waterfalls leap from the projecting rocks, tunnelled by caves, the

home until recent years of rattlesnake and wildcat, "the ledge" caps the barrier of hard flinty rock which resisted the force of the contending glaciers in primeval times.

This ridge owes its existence to the hardness of the rock. Following the emergence of the country from the sea, the streams, wind and rain began at once to wear it down. The shale was worn away faster than was the hard limestone; thus was formed the valley now occupied by Green Bay, Fox river and Lake Winnebago, which follows closely this strip of soft Cincinnati shale.

Compared with the processes just described the ice age is a recent event in the geological history of Brown county. Tens of thousands of years ago the climate became colder and colder, until a great mass of ice accumulated upon the highlands of Canada. The weight of this ice caused it to spread out, and a glacier of enormous size was formed. Creeping towards the southwest, at the rate of probably less than a foot a day the glacier entered the valley now occupied by Lake Michigan. The Door county ridge of hard Niagara limestone served as a wedge to split the ice into two divisions. Of these the western one followed up the valley which passes through Brown county, it spread nearly as far west as Stevens Point, and southward almost to Janesville. The other filled the basin now occupied by Lake Michigan.

Soil and loose rocks were stripped off by the ice, but it did not grind away any large hills, or otherwise profoundly modify the country. When at last the climate became milder the front of the ice gradually melted, liberating the loose material or drift which it had picked up, and allowing it to gather on the ground, especially just at the edge of the glacier. These border deposits are called "terminal moraines," and it was the melting of great buried blocks of ice that gave rise to the abundant depressions without outlets called "kettles" from their resemblance to the large kettles used by early settlers for making soap. Notable examples of these are the deep indentations around Baird's Creek and the Octagon house.

As the ice retreated still farther towards the northeast, water filled the valley it had vacated. At first this lake found an outlet along the line of the Upper Fox river into that of the Wisconsin at Portage. In the lake accumulated a great thickness of sand, gravel, and red clay, washed from the bare hills of drift just left by the glacier. This red clay now forms the soil of a large area in lower Brown county.

With the retreat of the glacier the water level fell. The successive levels of the lake are recorded in the ridges of sand and gravel formed by the waves along the ancient shores. Long used by the Indians as convenient routes of travel, their true origin was early recognized and commented upon in narratives of exploration. At Dyckesville, in the town of Scott, there is a fine example of this formation of nature in a distinct sand ridge seventeen feet above the bay.

These abandoned shore lines record the melting and gradual receding of the ice sheet. In the city of Green Bay and on its outskirts as at Long Tail Point, the shifting water line indicates that active deposition still goes on. Near the city in the direction of Bay Beach for instance the old lake floor between the ridges and the present shore is extensively ditched and cultivated as truck gardens, much of it being so close to present lake levels that it is too

wet to be occupied. Back toward the interior, southeast of the city, there are irregular gravel deposits which seem to have been shaped by the melting ice and its short lived streams and floods rather than by shore deposits.

When Lake Michigan reached its present level, the appearance of Brown county must have been substantially as it is today. The net result of the glacial period was to fill the deeper valleys with a great thickness of clay, sand, gravel and boulders so that the underlying rock is often deeply buried. Only the higher hills like the Door county ridge or "ledge" which existed before glacial times now project through the drift. In the time which has elapsed since the ice disappeared the streams have made but slight progress in wearing away the surface. Fox River has cut quite a deep channel as at Wrightstown and above, but the smaller streams have only formed narrow steep sided gullies. The same process of erosion as described before is nevertheless now going on. Material is being removed from the land and carried into the great lakes or the sea where it is deposited.

Such has been the geological history of Brown county. No volcanic eruptions or other spectacular events have marked its even course. Yet it is none the less impressive, in that it shows only these slow processes. Continuing through untold ages they built up the rocks on the sea bottom, elevated them into land, then in turn wore them away to be deposited elsewhere. The ice age was a comparatively recent incident in the development of the present face of the landscape. Being recent it has markedly altered the aspect of the country by smoothing over the older features with a mantle of loose material.

(The geological data for Chapter II has been furnished by Fredrik T. Thwaites.)

CHAPTER III

THE INDIANS IN 1634

Powerful and hidden forces of nature working not always silently formed as ages passed this habitable spot for man. The bare rocks were gradually clothed with verdure, animal and plant life appeared; the streams were stocked with fish; buffalo, elk, moose, bear and deer, the rightful prey of the men of the stone age, roamed its forests, while vast numbers of wild fowl inhabited its marshes and open waters, furnishing food and clothing for the people of these prehistoric and legendary days. How early in point of years man dwelt in this region is not known, but that it was inhabited many centuries before discovered by the French is a certainty.

In the Green Bay public library is a remarkable collection of stone and copper implements—weapons, tools, domestic articles and ornaments—furnishing the only record of this period of Brown county's history. Through them we can trace with some degree of sequence and definiteness the life and pursuits of our predecessors. Its owner, John P. Schumacher, has gathered this drift of bygone generations almost entirely from Brown county in the immediate vicinity of Green Bay. There are spear heads, stone and copper axes, tomahawks for use on the war path, spear heads for the chase; celts for scraping the skins of animals and preparing them for clothing; bone needles to be threaded with sinew for sewing garments, and the birch bark covering for canoes. Hatchets are here that were used to lop the trees for firewood, cabin poles and the frames for water craft; arrow points beautifully chipped and polished, curious pipes of flint, pottery, buffalo horn, stone clay and red pipestone, and, from a later period it is supposed, numerous articles made of the copper obtained from ancient mines in upper Michigan. Many of these mines have been discovered in recent years with the stone hammers and axes as they were left in the pits when used last by the Indian miners. There are also copper and some silver ornaments brought by the traders as early as the seventeenth century and exchanged by them with the Indians for furs.

The Schumacher collection of copper artifacts is one of the best and most complete in the state if not in the whole United States. Many of the articles in this exhibit were in use before Columbus discovered America, and before Leif Ericson and his northmen penetrated this strange new world.

The territory which is now Brown county was in those days thickly populated; its remoteness from the Iroquois—those tigers of the east, and the Sioux, wolves of the west, gave comparative security to the more peacefully inclined Indian tribes, and together with its abundance of food made it a paradise for

savage life. The earliest definite record we possess locates the various tribes as follows:

The Pottawatomies,¹ occupied Washington Island and the greater part of the east shore of Green Bay. They also had a large village of sixteen cabins at the mouth of the Big Suamico (Oussouamigong) on the west side of the bay.

The Winnebagoes² were upon and near Red Banks on the east shore of the bay. Vimont says "they were a sedentary people and very numerous." Some Frenchmen called them Puans, because the Algonquin word Oninipeg signifies "stinking water." (*Relations*, v. 23, p. 275.) The name Winnepigous or "Men of the salt water" or sea, misled Champlain when tidings of the strange tribe living on Green Bay were brought to him, and caused him to believe that it was the sea and not a body of fresh water on the shores of which these people dwelt. Early travellers speak of the extensive marshes edging the bay, and of its thick water growth, and suggest that the marshy odor noticeable during the summer was responsible for the name "ill smelling," as the Winnebagoes themselves were not more filthy in their habits than other tribes, were in fact considered an industrious people, the squaws neater and more careful than the ordinary savage home maker.

Entrenched on the heights of Red Banks, in legendary lore their "Garden of Eden," the place where they "first saw light," the Winnebagoes grew strong and aggressive, holding the part of master over the other tribes along the bay. By reason of their peculiar situation, a tribe of the Siouan stock, renegades from their own people, surrounded on all sides by Algonkins, and conspicuous because of their isolation, they were the most prominent among the bay Indians and from the title given to them as aliens, of "Puans" or "men of the sea" the bay acquired the name which it held for a century or more, until a still more powerful tribe, the warlike Fox (Outagamie), became foremost in the history of this region. (One explanation of the name Puan given to the Winnebagoes is that they were excessively fond of garlic and consequently smelt of that vegetable.)

On both sides of the Winnebago fortification and village at Red Banks were villages of Pottawatomies, and across the bay lived the Menominees³ on the river of the same name. They were not a very numerous people, and were called by the French "Folle Avoines," because of the quantities of wild rice that grew in their river.

1—Spelled variously Pottawattomies, Potéouatami, Poueteouatamis, Poutewatomi, Pontcouatemis; also called by the French Poux. The traditions of this tribe as first recorded by Father De Smet gave Longfellow the matter for his *Hiawatha*. They were a gentle, friendly tribe "very affable and cordial."—O'Shea, *La Potherie*.

2—Winnebago, Winnepigou, Ouinipigou, Puants, Puans. A tribe belonging to Sioux stock. The name derived from Winnipeg, "the sea," called "men of the sea," also called "Man eaters," because "any stranger coming among them was cooked in their kettles"—*Jesuit Relations*, *La Potherie*.

3—Menominees, Menomonees, Malouminek, Maloumines, Maroumine, Menomini, Malhominies, Oumalouminek. An Algonquin tribe living on their river of the same name. The name is the Algonquin term for the grain which grew in immense quantities along the borders of the stream—in English, Wild Rice. The French called both the grain and tribe *Folle Avoine*—Wild Oats.



DUTCHMAN'S CREEK



RED BANKS



OLD STONE LIGHTHOUSE



The principal village of the Osaukee⁴ was on the Fox river, near where the Beaumont House now stands. This tribe was from early days an ally of the Fox Indians, who were located on the Wolf river near New London when first visited by a Frenchman, Nicholas Perrot, in 1665, but who afterward moved their village to little Lake Butte des Morts and Doty's Island, where they remained to harass the French traders for many years.

The Mascoutins,⁵ Kickapoos⁶ and Miamis⁷ were located near Berlin, in what is now Green Lake county.

For two hundred years at least and probably much longer these tribes lived in practically one section of the country, that bordering on Green Bay and its tributary stream, Fox river. The widely prevalent idea that the Indians were before the coming of Europeans a nomadic people is largely a misconception. Unless driven from a favorite village by a stronger tribe they would dwell there contentedly for years, pursuing their life without thought of change.

Algonkin (or Algonquin) was a name originally applied to a small tribe of Indians living on the Gatina river east of Quebec. Later the term was extended to other tribes of the same stock living on the upper Ottawa river, the shores of Georgian Bay and Lake Huron as far as Sault Sainte Marie. Some of these people were driven by Iroquois cruelties to Mackinac and westward, and became consolidated with the tribe known as Ottawa. The Indian name was spelled by Nicholas Perrot Algonkin, and by the Jesuit chroniclers Algonquin, Algonquain and Algonkin. From this is derived Algonquian, the appellation given to the ethnic stock and linguistic family most widely diffused throughout North America. To this stock belonged all the tribes inhabiting what is now Wisconsin, with the one exception—the Winnebago.

The arts and industries of the bay Indians were not limited to the making of flint arrow points and clumsy implements of stone. With their seemingly impossible tools they accomplished remarkable results. Canoes were framed from cedar, covered with strips of birch bark, and the seams daubed with pitch gathered from resinous woods. When completed they were as tight and graceful a craft as ever floated, but difficult to navigate and dangerous in rough weather. One of the disasters of these days of Indian occupation is commemorated in the name "Death's Door;" a large canoe load of Pottawatomies crossing the mouth of Green Bay was overtaken by a gale, shipwrecked and the whole crew drowned.

4—The name of this Algonquin tribe was spelled at different periods Ousakis, Saukee, Sakys, Sakis, Sauk and Sac. Their original country, according to the Jesuit Relations, the district in the east between Lake Huron and Lake Erie. The Sauks were always closely united with the Foxes, and had probably a common origin.—O'Shea, Wis. Hist. Coll., vol. 3.

5—Mascoutins, Machkouteng, Machkontens, Maskoutens, etc., were called by the Hurons the Fire-Nation, and Allouez and Marquette also give the name of this Algonquin tribe that derivation. Dablon, Charlevoix and Schoolcraft treat this as a mistake and derive it from Muskortenc, a prairie.

6—Kickapoos, Kickabou, Kikapous, Kickaboua, etc., an Algonquin tribe. Charlevoix says: "The Kickapoos are neighbors of the Mascoutens and it seems that these two tribes have always been united in interest."

7—Miamis, an Algonquin tribe. Charlevoix says that they came from the Pacific, and in another place that they were originally near Chicago, where Perrot found their king, Tetinchoua, in 1671. The Jesuits found some tribes living with the Mascoutins on Fox river in 1669.

Indian lodges and wigwams were constructed by means of poles driven in the ground and thatched with mats made of the long grass which grows tall on inland waters. In the center of this lodge was an opening in the thatch for the smoke of the fire to escape and the door was usually covered with a buckskin curtain often painted with rude figures of men and animals. Later when the art of embroidering with colored porcupine quills came into use these curtains were still more highly embellished. The first European settlers and explorers speak of the Indian mounds at Point au Sable and extending far into the thick forests that in early days grew along the shore. These mounds had at that time, one hundred years or more ago, trees growing from their centers of apparently great age. John Rave, an intelligent Winnebago who in 1911 visited Red Banks, the home of his ancestors, says that what are often mistaken for oblong burial mounds were in reality elevations on which the Indians built their lodges in order to keep them dry in rainy weather.

Basket making was still another pursuit of these primitive times, and pottery was moulded from clay obtained along the bay shore. Great kettles like the one found by J. P. Schumacher at Little Red River (*La Petite Rivière Rouge*) in the northeast corner of the town of Scott near the line of Kewaunee county, one-quarter of a mile from Dyckesville, were used to cook in or to store grain. Nicholas Perrot in one of his harangues to the Indians in this vicinity in 1683 bids them remember their miserable condition before the light of their French father Onontio had brought them help, for he had found them with no utensils or tools save "earthen pots and stone hatchets," while spoons of clam shells dipped out their sturgeon and wild rice stew.

The yearly harvest of wild rice formed still another great industry. When as in Fox River and its tributaries the waving fields of grain extended to mid-channel the Indian women in July tied with strong withes great bunches together. Then when the crop was ripe they paddled their canoes through these alleys, and bending down the heavy sheaves of grain beat out the tasseled head with a paddle. Then followed the primitive method of extracting the inner kernel, which was done with a stone mortar and pestle. A fine example of a "spirit stone" or mortar is to be found on the Cormier farm at Ashwaubenon, a great stone with a depression in the center, in which the grain was placed to be ground out with stone hammers. There was also a smaller stone mortar found at the south end of Point au Sable, and a very small one of hematite was found by J. P. Schumacher at Big Snamico.

The duties of the Indian women included the skinning of animals when brought in by the hunters, stretching and preparing the hides for use and fashioning them into moccasins and leggings. The latter were sometimes richly decorated with dyed porcupine quills. To get the fish at the landing and clean it; to make twine in order to provide nets for the men; to plant, hoe and garner the crops and to look after the cooking were also in their province. The women were aided in their tasks by the children and old men. Often prisoners of war were used as slaves and did a large part of the drudgery.

There were few idle hands, for on the men devolved the making of canoes, paddles, poles and saddles; implements of stone and bone, and bows and arrows. They contrived conveniences for fishing such as were found by the first explorers at De Pere rapids, where the banks narrow and the waters rush

and hurry. Here the Indians constructed an ingenious fish weir across the stream resembling in appearance a rail fence. From this picturesque, though at times somewhat unsteady structure, the fishermen deftly speared the mighty sturgeon and muskellunge that were stopped in their mad rush down stream by closely set stakes often threaded by a heavy net.

Indian cornfields were of amazing extent, and early travelers speak of the succulence of their bean and corn succotash. One of the first acts of cruelty in savage warfare was the destruction of an enemy's cornfield which doomed him to starvation and surrender, and this method of warfare was continued by the French in subduing the Indians. In the campaign against the Iroquois undertaken by Marquis Denonville in 1687, when Nicholas Perrot, Wisconsin's first governor, came into prominence, the amount of corn destroyed belonging to the enemy was 1,000,000 bushels. Beans, squashes, pumpkins and tobacco were raised in abundance, the Indian agriculturalist using primitive gardening tools of stone or wood. Sometimes sharp shells or flat bones were fastened into wooden handles by stout withes of wood or leather and used to scratch the soil for planting.

Their pleasures were first of all war. Internecine squabbles between the different tribes were constant, patched up by a make-believe peace to be broken almost immediately again. The woods, dense though they were in this vicinity, were threaded by Indian trails where half naked dusky imps chased each other, for often the war party chose the path through the woods rather than a canoe voyage in reaching the Illinois country. The Indian mother sang her baby to sleep with chants of mighty deeds of prowess to be accomplished by him when grown.

When six years of age children whether boy or girl had their ears pierced by a flat bodkin made of bone and the nose treated in the same manner with a stout awl. This ceremony was performed by a juggler assisted by five or six disciples. The aboriginal awl, samples of which can be seen in the Schumacher collection, was indeed an indispensable article in every day work, so much so that it was usually carried in the belt. In bead work, basket work, quill work, and sewing and canoe making it was indispensable.

Their musical instruments were the flute made of two pieces of soft wood hollowed out, and tied together with leather thongs, and a small hollow bone made similar to the present flute which they blew at one end, making a shrill monotonous note. A drum formed of a hollow log with deer skin drawn tightly across the end, was beaten at all kinds of feasts, dances and games; in dancing they kept time to the tap of the drum. Father Charlevoix in describing the ceremonies attendant on the coming of a new commandant to Fort St. Francis near the mouth of Fox river in the summer of 1721, speaks of the monotony of this music, and the never ending dances of the braves.

Gambling was a passion with the bay Indians, the game of straws and of dice being especially prized. At the game of dice a whole village would wager its entire wealth against another and lose it all. Squatting on the ground men and women would play interminably, and when one party happened to throw a pair royal of six his entire tribe would rise to their feet and dance, keeping time to the sound of rattles made of gourds filled with beans. The game of

lacrosse belongs to the earliest ages, and was a favorite although often a dangerous pastime.

All the tribes seem to have been given much to feasts and pagan ceremonials. The Sauks and Foxes were esteemed deeply religious in that they propitiated constantly with gifts and oblations the dread spirits dwelling in caves, in fire, in air and water. The god of water was the great Panther whom the Algonkins called Michipissy.

"Devil" river is synonymous with Manitou, so named by the Indians who told the French that a monster lived in a cave within its sharply shelving shore and deep channel; that he had a large tail and when he rose to drink the waving of his tail stirred up high winds, but when he switched it sharply it roused great tempests. Therefore when departing on a journey upon any water they uttered the invocation "Thou who art the master of the winds favor us upon our voyage and give us pleasant weather," at the same time scattering tobacco upon the water. In especial was the bear held in reverence. Long harangues were made to his effigy, and he was propitiated by warriors going into battle with strange dances and gyrations and the observance of long fasts. Father André in 1673 describes his interviews with the haughty young warriors who appeared decked out with paint and feathers in preparation for taking the war path in pursuit of the Sioux. He tells of how they skinned the sacred bear whole and set it up as a grotesque image in the center of a lodge selected for the purpose; the animal's snout painted a brilliant green; and how around this dreadful effigy the warriors who besought the good offices of the fetich gyrated and danced "yelling all night long like one in despair."

(References for Chapter III: Blair, Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi and Great Lakes; Thwaites, Wisconsin; A. C. Neville, Historic Sites on Green Bay; Wis. Hist. Proc., 1905; J. G. O'Shea, Wis. Hist. Colls, Vol. 3.)

CHAPTER IV

THE COMING OF JEAN NICOLET

For how many hundreds of years this active busy life went on, in the forests and along the streams of our country no one knows, but that for a very long time the tribal families of Pottawatomies, Sauks, Miamis, Menominees and Foxes inhabited this section of country is well proved. Although so far inland these Indians were destined to be reached by the adventurous white race almost as soon as their brothers on the Atlantic coast.

Hendrick Hudson had sailed for the first time the great river that bears his name in 1609, the Mayflower made her initial voyage in 1620, and in 1634 Jean Nicolet, an adventurous Norman, made the long trip of 1,000 miles from Quebec to Green Bay. In New France, as Canada was then called, was to be found the spirit of adventure, of romance and exploration wholly lacking among the prosaic English and Dutch on the Atlantic coast. Samuel de Champlain, governor of the Province of Quebec, was typical of all that the French stood for in North America. He was himself an explorer of no mean reputation, and his discoveries added material and definite territory to the vague maps of that period. Champlain's map of the great lakes country drawn in 1632 is a marvel of accurate guesswork; drafted as it was principally from Indian report couched in allegorical language, it yet gave a fair idea of Lake Huron and Lake Superior.

Beyond the great water (Lake Huron) so the Indians assured him was still another inland sea, and beyond that a wide sheet of water never seen by Frenchmen, which Champlain figured possibly might be the China Sea. We now know this to have been Green Bay, but the popular idea in that day was that not very far to the westward lay the Chinese Empire, "far Cathay," and Champlain, astute explorer though he was, had no means of judging possible distances and correcting erroneous impressions. His imagination took fire when the savage visitors told him that on the shores of this great bay dwelt a strange people, "Men of the sea," who differed entirely in appearance and custom from the surrounding red men. Champlain, eager to discover what this nation of aliens might be, whether Indian or Mongolian, and unable to go himself chose as his envoy the man of all others fitted for the enterprise—Jean Nicolet.

Nicolet had come to New France in the year 1618, and "forasmuch as his nature and excellent memory inspired good hopes of him he was sent to winter with the Island Algonquins in order to learn their language. He tarried with them two years, and always joined the barbarians in their excursions and journeys."—Jesuit Relations.

It had been Champlain's custom for years to send young men among the Indians for the purpose of learning their language and becoming acquainted

with their manners and customs, preparing them in short to act as interpreter or in some other capacity for the One Hundred Associates, at that time the great fur corporation of Canada and the precursor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Nicolet later spent eight or nine years with the tribes in the vicinity of Lake Nipissing, isolated from civilization, living the wild life of the savage and noting down his observations of Indian life and character. He is said to have been deeply religious and to have suffered while in this exile for the consolations of the church "without which among the savages is great peril for the soul." On Nicolet's return to Quebec he entered the employ of the fur company, and at thirty-six years of age was chosen by Governor Champlain as his envoy to arrange a peace between the Hurons and "People of the sea from whom they are absent about 300 leagues."

The chronicler of this famous voyage of Jean Nicolet's is Father Vimont of the Jesuit order. Each year a circumstantial account of the society's work was sent to its superior in Paris, and among the multiplied items of daily life in Quebec and vicinity must be gleaned the story of the coming of the first white man to Green Bay. On the first of July, 1634, two fleets of canoes left Quebec and paddled up the St. Lawrence—the one to build a fort where today stands the town of Three Rivers, Canada, the other under the direction of Father Brebeuf to found a Jesuit mission among the Hurons. With the latter party was Jean Nicolet under commission from Champlain to proceed to the Huron villages on Georgian Bay, there to obtain men of that nation to act as his boatmen on the expedition to identify the "Winnepigous" or "men of the salt water."¹

Some time late in July Nicolet and his seven Huron savages embarked. Skirting the northern shore of Georgian Bay they rounded the Manitoulin islands and reaching Sault Sainte Marie ascended the river as far as the rapids; then on to Mackinac island where the blue expanse of Lake Huron (*la douce mer*) met the clear green waters of its sister, Lake Michigan.

That Nicolet pursued his journey with the knowledge that this alien people he sought was in reality a tribe of Indians instead of a horde of Mongolians, is now certain. "He passed by many small nations" on his way, the most of whom had heard of the arrogant Puans who lived on the great bay, and before he rounded Point Detour and entered Big Bay de Noquet, the voyageur, knew without doubt that red men and not Chinese mandarins were the object of this wild, adventurous trip.

Coasting along the low western shore of Green Bay he came to the Menominees dwelling on the river that now bears their name and there found that the Winnebagoes were two days distant. Wherever the party landed "they fastened two sticks in the earth, and hung gifts thereon so as to relieve those tribes from the notion of mistaking them for enemies to be massacred." One of his Hurons was dispatched by Nicolet to announce that a Frenchman, "a Manitouiriniou," that is to say "a wonderful man," was on the way bringing to the Puans

1—Later knowledge has revealed the fact that the "Gens de Mer," or Men of the Sea, were but the Winnebago of our day—a name derived from the Algonkin word *Quinipegou*, meaning "men of the fetid (or stinking) water." Ethnologists now believe that the term *Quinepeg*, as applied by the Algonkins to the Winnebagoes, had no reference to the sea, but to certain ill-smelling sulphur springs in the neighborhood of Lake Winnipeg.—Thwaites, Wisconsin.



LANDFALL OF JEAN NICOLET, 1634, AT RED BANKS, GREEN BAY



a message of peace with the Hurons. Full of curiosity and interest the Winnebagoes received most affably Jean Nicolet's Indian messenger, and immediately dispatched several of their young men to meet and bring with honor this distinguished stranger to their village. "They meet him, they escort him, they carry all his baggage," thus the Jesuit narrative runs.

From the lofty heights of Red Banks the cortege of canoes could be seen approaching for many miles distant. The steep clay bluff which rises eighty feet or more from the beach below was in 1634 crowned by a palisaded fort, the earth works of which show it to have been of large proportions and strongly built. All around this ancient fortification and its enclosed lodges were fields of Indian corn, while a village of mat-covered cabins ran down hill southward and on to the plain below. It was an imposing stronghold for defense or observation, and from it the wide stretch of blue bay gave protection from treacherous advance.

In order to impress the strange nation with the dignity of his mission Nicolet had provided himself with "a grand robe of Chinese damask, all strewn with flowers and birds of many colors," gorgeous to behold. In this the explorer arrayed himself, and the Indians watching from the rude bastions of their fort saw the long canoe propelled by swift paddles of the Huron "wild men" sweep up to their primitive landing place in fine style.

In the center of the canoe rode a gayly decked white man, who disembarked with the air of a conqueror raising in each hand as he did so a mysterious implement of iron. These with a terrific noise and smoke he discharged toward the sun. "It is a Manitou who carries thunder in both hands," cried the women and children, and fled before the marvelous apparition, while the men more courageous prepared to do homage to this new deity.

The important visit proceeded most successfully and amicably. News of Nicolet's coming having spread among the neighboring tribes a great council was held, the first of many that were to be carried on between palefaces and Indians in the limits of Brown county in coming years. "Four or five thousand warriors assembled, each of the chiefs gave a feast and at one of these not less than six score beaver were eaten. Peace was concluded." Thus ends Père Vimont's account of the coming of the first white man to Green Bay.

Jean Nicolet blazed the trail for exploration, commerce and civilization in this region. In his wake followed a varied unending procession of fur traders, missionaries, adventurous spirits in all walks of life, who were to make this a central point for trade and colonization. The place where the brave Norman met the Winnebago in friendly council in this twentieth century has become a conventional summer resort, with picturesque cottages gleaming through wooded glades. Its winding paths still recall the forest primeval, although the thick growth of juniper and fir which used to fringe the edge of the bluff has disappeared. In the sandy soil the archaeologist still finds relics of Winnebago and Pottawatomic occupancy, and at a turn of the road which leads to Red River, to Dyckesville and other Brown county towns stands a rude boulder with bronze tablet attached. On it are marked these words: "1634-1909—Commemorating the discovery of Wisconsin in 1634 by Jean Nicolet, emissary of Governor Champlain of New France. In this vicinity Nicolet first met the Winnebago

Indians. Unveiled August 12, 1909, by members of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the Green Bay Historical Society."

Nicolet well deserves a lasting monument, not only commemorative of his discovery of Wisconsin, but also of the man himself, the sturdy self-respecting and respected Norman whose few remaining years after his famous voyage were full of usefulness and honor. Beloved by the French and Indians and the trusted ally of the missionaries in their work of conversion, he contributed much toward the advancement of the colonies in Canada. His death was sudden and much lamented. While making the trip from Quebec to Three Rivers to save an Indian prisoner from torture he was drowned in the St. Lawrence, October 27th, 1642.

Not until 1658 is there further mention of European exploration as far as Green Bay, and then by men as different from Jean Nicolet as can well be imagined. Champlain's ambition in sending his envoy to seek out new countries was the spirit of exploration rather than trade, but the passion for the large and easily obtained profits to be gained in furs rapidly spread among the youth of New France; agriculture was neglected and the whole masculine colony took to the woods.

Medard Chouart Groseillers and his brother-in-law, Pierre d'Esprit, Sieur Radisson, young men living in the colony of Quebec, determined in 1658 to explore the country of the great lakes. The two formed a brotherly partnership "to travell and see countries" and Radisson with the true explorer's spirit kept a journal as keenly descriptive today as when he noted down events of the year 1658. In it he records that as soon as he and Groseillers made their resolution, "many undertake the voyage, for where is lucre there are enough people to be had." This might indicate that coureurs de bois or wood rangers were already seeking in considerable numbers the rich fields of this western wilderness.

The two Frenchmen visited first the Ottawas on the Manitoulin islands, and there met a band of Pottawatomie "Ambassadors," Radisson grandiloquently calls them, who prayed the travelers to return with them to their villages on Green Bay. Here the winter was passed with the Pottawatomes at their large village, probably on the shore between Point au Sable and Red Banks.

The Frenchmen's winter on Green Bay seems not to have been a very severe one in point of cold, but the following year Radisson gives a thrilling narrative of hardship and suffering from the extreme weather experienced in the northern part of what is now Wisconsin. On the shores of Lake Superior famine overtook them, not an unusual thing among the Indians in those days during the extreme cold, when game disappeared entirely from the gaunt snow laden forests. The Indian lodges were filled with starving folk and Radisson's wonderful word picture vividly impresses the reader as it did when fresh from his pen, two hundred and fifty-eight years ago.

"We stayed 14 days in this place most miserable like a churchyard, . . . for there did fall such a quantity of snow and frost and with such a thick mist that all the snow stucke to those trees that are there so ruffe, cedars and thorns that caused ye darkness upon the earth that it is believed ye sun was eclips. * * * The two first weekes we did eate our doggs. Finally we became the very Image of death with barely strength to make a hole in the snow to lay us

down, * * * or to cutt a little wood to make a fire to keep us from the rigour of the cold."

Other daring spirits followed close upon Radisson and Groseillers. The journey from Quebec was a long and dangerous one but on the shores of "la grande baye" were to be found ample profits to repay the adventurous fur trader for all his toil.

INDIAN MOUNDS IN BROWN COUNTY

Town of Green Bay, Brown County, Wisconsin

No. 1. A large Indian mound was located on the fractional northwest quarter of the northeast quarter, section 13, township 25, range 22, on the south shore of Green Bay and the east bank of a small creek (sometimes called Little Red river or Petite Rivière Rouge) extending south and east along the bank of the creek about 900 feet to a large sand hill called "The Hog Back." The foot of the hill is covered with remnants of fire pits and fragments of pottery and large quantities of flint chippings and pieces of flint (also a large heap of clay which was evidently used in the manufacture of pottery). The top of the hill was used for burials.

No. 2. A smaller village was located in the fractional northwest quarter of the southwest quarter of section 13, township 25, range 22, on the south shore of Green Bay and the east shore of a small creek (sometimes called Little Red river or Petite Rivière Rouge). There was a small oval mound (now obliterated), about 200 feet east of the mouth of the creek and 100 feet south of the low water mark of Green Bay.

Note. It is a question which of the two streams is the Little Red river or Petite Rivière Rouge as it was called by the early French settlers, as both are referred to by that name by the farmers in the neighborhood.

Town of Suamico, Brown County, Wisconsin

No. 1. An oval mound about 70 by 80 feet on land of Peter Devroy in the southeast quarter of the northwest quarter, section 23, township 25, range 20, being 100 feet north and 125 feet west from the center of Brucetown road and the north by east section line.

No. 2. A large village site (Oussaquaimmy, a village mentioned in the Jesuit relations), located on land of——Anderson, along the west shore of Green Bay, covering the greater part of the fractional east half section 24, township 25, range 20, south of the Big Suamico river.

No. 3. A village site on the farm of William Gokey on the northwest quarter of the southwest quarter of section 14, township 25, range 20.

No. 4. A small village or camp on the land of Dr. Colver on west half of the southwest half, section 14, township 25, range 20.

No. 5. Workshop on a sand hill on the southeast quarter of the southwest quarter of the southeast quarter, section 15, township 25, range 20.

Note. There are none of the usual signs of a village or camp at this hill except a few remnants of fire pits, but quantities of small flint-chippings.

Note. Nos. 4 or 5 may have been part of village No. 3, being so close to them, in fact the whole territory between all the villages on both sides of the Big Suamico river shows signs of former occupation.

Town of Preble, Brown County, Wisconsin.

There was a village on the east bank of East river (Devil river) on lot 37 of Newberry's addition, division No. 2.

(References for Chapter IV: Jesuit Relations, Vol. 23; Butterfield, Discovery of Northwest; J. P. Schumacher, "Indian Mounds;" Hebbard, Wisconsin, under French Dominion.)

CHAPTER V

FATHER ALLOUEZ AND THE MISSION OF ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER

The site on the shore of Fox River where stood the Mission House of St. François Xavier two hundred and forty-one years ago has never as in many similar instances been wholly lost. Through reminiscence and tradition and the writings of Fathers Allouez and Dablon almost the exact location of this pious retreat can be traced. Early American settlers found still visible the foundations of chapel and dwelling house (W. H. C., Vol. 2) for although burned by hostile Indians in 1687, the stone foundations and stout timbers were not entirely destroyed and defied time's ravages. So the great name of its founder, Claude Allouez, and the work accomplished by him, withstand the waves of oblivion that have swallowed up other and less strong personalities.

It was in the month of November, 1669, that Father Allouez began his journey to the great bay of the Puans, leaving his mission "La Pointe du Saint Esprit" on the shores of Chequamegon Bay in charge of Father Jacques Marquette. It is a season that in our northern latitudes means blustering north winds, with a strong skimming of ice, as the days shorten, on the borders of creek and river. Allouez had steadfastly purposed to reach the extremity of the bay before winter set in, and urged the two French voyageurs who accompanied him in his bark canoe to use every effort to gain this goal. All the experience of these skilled Canadian boatmen was called into requisition, for the journey was a dangerous and terrible one.

On the twenty-fourth of November ice began to form, cutting their perishable bark craft; snow fell and their garments were drenched. At intervals they landed to mend their canoes and make friends with the Indians camped along the shores; for the most part Pottawatomies, who like the voyageurs were short of provisions, for there was no game and it was too early in the season to spear the sturgeon. The travelers labored on, Father Allouez ever encouraging his companions and invoking the aid of St. Francis Xavier, while his crew implored the protection of St. Anne, patron saint of all voyageurs.

When they reached the mouth of the river where they were to join a little band of fur traders, they found it closed by ice, but that night a tempestuous wind arose and cleared the channel, so that they were able to enter. On the second of December, 1669, they made port, landing a short distance up a stream on the west side of the bay. This point is now definitely identified as the Oconto river, where there was a large Indian village.

Six Frenchmen had encamped here for purposes of trade, and these with the two voyageurs formed the worshipers at the first mass offered on these isolated shores. It was for Father Allouez a service of thanksgiving that his life had been spared through so many dangers, and that he had been enabled

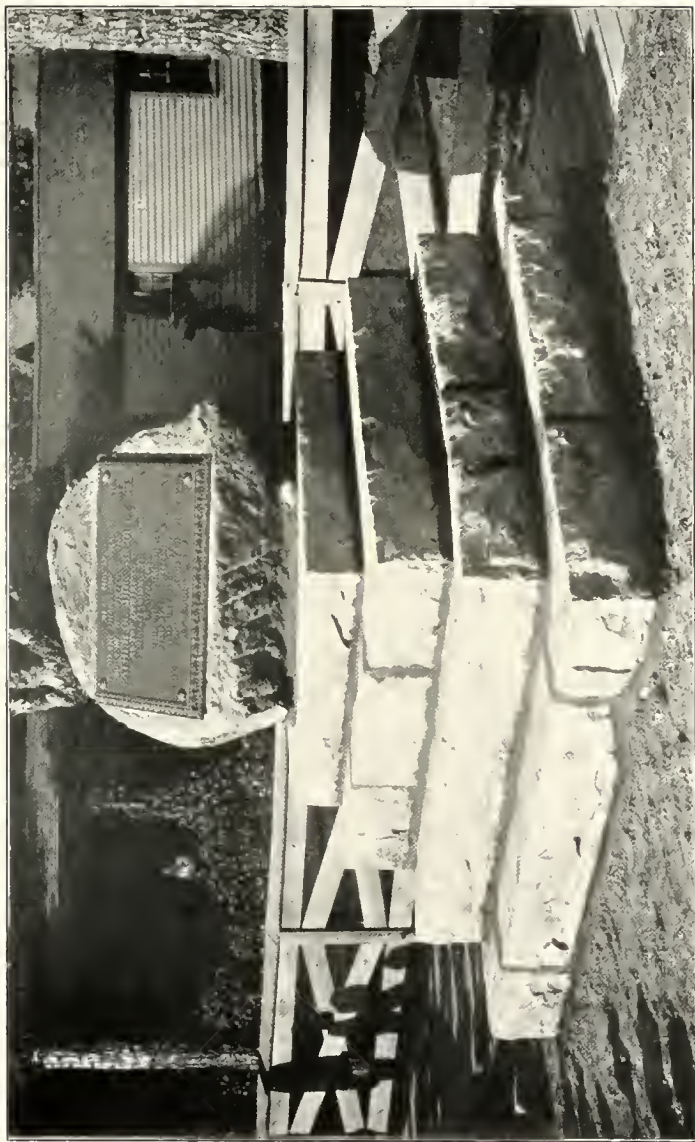
to gain this goal of his pious hopes. Here Allouez spent the winter of 1669-70, visiting a number of Indian villages in the vicinity, among them that of the Winnebagoes at Red Banks, also the Pottawatomic "who lived near them." One especially difficult trip was made by the priest in visiting these two tribes. After giving instruction to the dwellers in this encampment, in all perhaps one hundred and sixty persons, Father Allouez began his dangerous return journey to Oconto. The cold on the open bay was so intense, with the mercury below zero and the unsheltered expanse by a cutting wind, that the missionary was nearly overcome, and was forced to sink down on the snow. His nose was frozen, his strength well nigh exhausted, but in telling of the perilous trip he says, "through Providence I found in my cassock a clove" and the pungent spice so revived him that he was enabled to continue his journey.

When the ice broke up under the rough winds of March, Father Allouez prepared to carry on his missionary work to the southward. Passing to the head of the bay he entered the river of the Puans (Fox River) a water highway that became only a few years later, and continued to be for nearly two centuries, the most important route connecting the Mississippi with the great lakes. Allouez promptly rechristened the beautiful stream "*Rivière St. François*." This name it retained until the middle of the eighteenth century, when constant war between the French and the war-like Fox or Outagamie nation made this section of country the peculiar territory of these aggressive Indians, and the waterway, which had become a source of contention between the combatants was known as *Rivière des Outagamies* or *Rivière des Resnards*.

To one who passes up Fox river today the journal kept by Father Allouez with its minute memoranda of people and places in that early period of our history, is of absorbing interest. Although a tremendous water power has made the stream a center for manufacture and modern industries still one may even now float for miles along its waters and view practically the same general landscape as did Allouez on this first memorable journey—the steep overhanging banks fringed thickly by apple and other low growing trees, woodlands rising in the background with wide open spaces between, and the calm even flow of the river, unvexed for leagues by modern improvements.

Allouez made a hasty review of the field at this time and in May he was back at his Oconto mission. He stopped there but a short time, for in June he was due at Sault Ste. Marie where *Sieur St. Lusson* by royal authority was to claim for Louis XIV of France this wide western territory. With imposing ceremonies during which speeches were made by St. Lusson and Father Allouez, the arms of France were raised on high by Nicholas Perrot, and fastened to a solidly planted pole, while St. Lusson in a commanding voice took possession of this land in the name of the "most high, mighty and redoubted monarch Louis Fourteenth of the name, King of France and Navarre."

In September, 1670, Allouez again made the voyage up the Fox River in company with Father Dablon, newly appointed Superior of all the Canadian missions. It was a pleasant journey in congenial companionship, full of variety and incident. Where the city of Kaukauna now overruns the once beautiful island and commanding bluffs the travelers found set up on the bank of the river a grotesque idol of stone, to which every red man in passing made homage and propitiatory offerings of tobacco. Without ceremony the missionaries



ALLOUEZ MONUMENT

tumbled this gayly painted image into the river, where it doubtless still rests. The Indians were uniformly docile, and gave glad welcome to the kindly "black robe," as they called the visiting priest, but Father Allouez was inexpressibly shocked that they should treat him as a deity, and lay offerings of tobacco at his feet. "Take pity on us," they cried, "thou art a Manitou. We give thee tobacco to smoke. We are often ill, our children are dying; we are hungry. Hear us, Manitou; we give thee tobacco to smoke," while Allouez in horror yet deeply touched by this plaintive appeal called upon them to give up their idolatries, and listen to him as he told them of the true and only God.

In the winter of 1671-72 a permanent mission house was built on a projection of land around which the last series of rapids eddy before Fox river makes its final sweep towards Green Bay. It was a level plateau, "a prairie" Father Allouez calls it, with a sandy beach skirting its borders some five feet below. To the eastward the place was sheltered by high banks covered from base to crown by a heavy growth of forest. The mission of St. François Xavier occupying this accessible and pleasant spot was at first merely a lodge such as the Indians used. This burned and was succeeded by a solidly constructed chapel and dwelling house, probably built of logs with a stone foundation, for the missionaries, and still another structure for the traders and casual visitors of whom there were many coming and going.

The mission at Rapides des Pères speedily became a center of interest for the whole northwest. Allouez was efficient as an organizer and wide experience had taught him right methods in controlling and attaching to him the wily and childish savage. He was a man of indomitable courage and perseverance with a thorough knowledge of the various Algonkin dialects and this last equipment made his missionary labors more successful than any of his colleagues, and gave him an immense advantage over Father Marquette and other contemporary priests as an itinerant missionary. More help was urgently required however and precisely the right person came to Father Allouez's assistance when in December, 1671, Father Louis André joined the mission. The fathers agreed to divide the field, Allouez to pass through the river villages to the prairie dwellers, the Miamis, Mascoutins, Kickapoos and Illinois, while André went to those Indians living on the bay shore, the nomadic fisher population, who built their reed lodges close to the water's edge and speared through holes in the ice sturgeon and muskellunge, or set nets for smaller fry.

Father André was at this time forty-one years of age, a native of southern France, strong of body and intellect, and with decided views as to the most effective way of reaching the savage conscience. His recital of daily work sent to his superior in Paris is picturesque in the telling and through its pages we see the shore of the bay and the daily life there as in a picture; the Indian lodges clustered at Suamico and Point au Sable, the stretches of cornfield bounding them on either side, heaps of fish drying everywhere, within and without the low cabins—an industry that often made it impossible to hold service in the church, and drove the priest to the outside air, so close was the interior with this all-pervading fishy odor.

Father André set forth from "the house," as he designates St. François Xavier Mission, in the autumn of 1672, reaching Chouskouabika,—“the place

of slippery stones," as it is translated—on the 16th of November. It is impossible to locate this village accurately; no vestige of its Indian name remains, as in Oussouamigong (Suamico) and many other towns of today, to give hint of its prehistoric title.

Six tribes inhabited this upper bay region in the thirty odd miles extending between the present cities of Green Bay and Menominee. The population of these villages varied from 150 to 300 souls and the work in hand proved sufficient to keep André's heart and hand active.

"Father André," writes Allouez, "by his firmness has succeeded in subduing the minds of the savages, who were most ferocious and superstitious, by gradually and with unswerving constancy subjecting them to the yoke of the Faith." To gain insight into the manner in which Father André accomplished this remarkable change we must look over his shoulder as he writes in his little reed hut at Chouskouabika. "The fire that broke out in my cabin on the 22nd of December destroyed my writing case and journal," he notes down, and then proceeds to tell how the calamity really turned to good, for the savages immediately set about to remedy the loss by building him a hut according to their own methods, using straw to the height of a man; above this mats which they wove from the long grass of the marshes bordering the bay. The mats were laid with a slight slope, so that the water ran from their smooth surface. "They afford greater protection against cold and smoke than do bark cabins," André writes, "and one need fear neither rain nor snow within their comfortable shelter."

The reference by Father André to the burning of his cabin leads one to wonder whether possibly at this time the priest lost his sole scientific instrument, a bronze compass and sextant combined; for two hundred and thirty years later, in the autumn of 1902, F. B. Duchateau and A. G. Holmes of Green Bay tracking over the site of an Algonquin village on the east shore of the bay near Point au Sable found one of these ancient instruments, blackened and discolored from the centuries it had lain in the earth. The interesting relic was made in Paris, and bears upon its face the names and latitudes of the French forts and mission stations most important in the seventeenth century, from Montreal to "la baye." There is no name to give clue to its possible owner, but it undoubtedly belonged to one of the early missionaries, in all probability Father André, as these bay villages were his especial field of labor.

As the priest writes in his journal or rather on such scraps of paper as he has rescued from the conflagration, Indians enter the cabin, young warriors with faces blackened and daubed with coarse paint, terrible to behold and looking more like fiends than men. "I found no better way of compelling them to clean their faces than to show them the painting of the devil to whom they made themselves similar, and to refuse them entrance into my cabin when they came to pray to God."

But the father possessed a gift that aided him greatly in gaining an influence over the children of his flock, a cultivated taste for music. He set to fascinating airs of old Provence pious teaching framed in such simple language as the savage youngsters could understand. The experiment proved most successful, and the little wild swarthy creatures followed the priest with

devotion, playing on their rude instruments and chanting the melodious tunes he had taught them.

With his singing children Father André passed up and down the shores of Baye des Puans, "making war against the jugglers, dreamers, and those who had many wives, and because the Indians passionately loved their children and would suffer anything from them, they allowed the reproaches strong as they were cast upon them in these songs."

The cold in that winter of 1672-73 was intense, and the straw cabin was not proof against its inroads. When Father André said mass at daybreak in order to avoid possible interruption, he thawed the wine by the smoky fire in the center of the cabin; but it would freeze again before the consecration and the chalice stuck to his lips. Yet no word of complaint escaped him; it is only an interesting incident to be recorded in the day's story.

On the first day of Lent, the sixth of March, 1673, André returned to the central mission house at Rapides des Pères. As I had given my word to Reverend Father Allouez that I would proceed to the house at the beginning of March I started on the sixth, notwithstanding the gout that had attacked me on the previous day. For that reason I was compelled after walking two leagues to have myself dragged by a dog from the mouth of the river to the house. When the elders heard that I was to leave them they came to me and begged me to stay, saying, "Now that all pray, thou leavest us," but he assured them of his return.

Life at St. François Xavier's mission house was varied and busy enough, to judge from the journal of Father Allouez and the record of contemporary writers. Service in the chapel, attendance at Indian councils, visits to separate cabins and instruction given to their inmates; careful noting of astronomical data as when Father Allouez makes minute mention of an eclipse of the sun which occurred on the sixteenth day of April, 1670, and lasted for over two hours. Father André on the bay shore kept accurate record of the curious tides that for many years and to this day puzzle students of inland water phenomena.

Many visitors came to the mission whose names are familiar now through history and romantic tale. Daniel Greysolon Dulhut, *coureur de bois* and soldier of fortune, a typical outgrowth of that reckless life and age; Baron Lahontan, courtier and dilettante whose blithe chronicle of his travels and adventures savors of Baron Munchausen; Henri de Tonti with the hand of copper who in his retreat with four companions from the beleaguered fort on Starved Rock, Illinois, reached the friendly shelter of the mission house in December, 1680. In the first week of May, 1683, his cousin, Dulhut, was again in this region with thirty men, and valiantly helped to defend the mission stockade against an incursion of the Iroquois, just then raiding Wisconsin tribes who had fled from Lake Huron.

In the spring of 1673 Father Jacques Marquette and his sturdy companion, Louis Joliet, stopped at St. François Xavier on their way to that great and as yet unexplored stream "that flows toward the south, and empties into the sea of Florida or California as we believe." In the fall the travelers returned, Marquette broken in health and content to take a much needed respite from labor among his brethren at the Rapides des Pères. Joliet returned to Canada with

news of their great discovery, and the priest settled down for the winter in the little mission station, a haven of rest for the delicate, over-worked apostle. Here during the short winter days, in the log cabin banked high with snow drifts, Marquette inscribed a careful record of summer wanderings along the mighty Mississippi, living over again the discovery and the exploration of that hitherto unknown stream.

Rumors of disaster to the French by field and flood grew rife throughout New France. The Indians became insolent and threatened to enter into a league with the English. A contagious malady appeared in 1683 at the bay which caused great mortality and the superstitious savages accused the black robes of casting upon them some spell of witchcraft. Servants of the missionaries having been assassinated by the Indians they believed that this scourge was a revenge devised by the priests, whose lives at St. Francois were in constant danger. "Scarcely did they escape the burning of their homes and a like fate for themselves. A friendly chief who had heard some one say that they should get rid of these religions came to live near them to protect them."

It must have been prior to this event that Allouez wrote in his report that after September he would be in the mission house alone, the savages all departing "because this year there are neither ducks or acorns." Many bands of Indians passed that way whom he instructed. The Illinois in especial flocked to the mission house "in the conviction that the house of God will protect them." When they passed the church they threw tobacco all around it as a token of respect to the "greatest divinity of whom they have ever heard."

In time Father Allouez passed on to other fields leaving a competent helper to carry on the work so well begun. Those who followed him found how strong an impression had been made by the good priest's teachings, as when Father Marquette first went down to the mission of St. Esprit on Lake Superior, founded by Allouez. "The Indians were very glad to see me at first," he writes, "but when they learned that I did not know the language perfectly, and that Father Allouez who understood them thoroughly had been unwilling to return to them because they did not take enough interest in prayer, they acknowledged that they were well deserving this punishment and resolved to do better."

A remarkable relic of these early days is a beautiful silver ostensorium, presented to the St. François Xavier mission by Nicholas Perrot, who, as commander of the entire western territory for many years, was most closely identified with the mission's life and work. Perrot's devotion to the Catholic church and his friendship to the Jesuits of St. Francois is shown by his gift of this receptacle for the sacred wafer in the celebration of the mass. The monstrance is richly wrought, possibly of foreign workmanship, and bears upon the base these words: "Ce soleil a esté donné par Nicholas Perrot à la mission de St. François Xavier en la Baye des Puants, 1686."

During Perrot's absence from his command in 1687, the Indians became especially mutinous, burned the chapel and storehouse of the mission and forced the priests to flee for their lives. The ostensorium was buried by the missionaries for safe keeping and remained concealed until 1802, when a French habitant plowing his arpent of land at that point brought to light the historical relic.

Doubtless the missionaries hoped to return and recover their treasure when



INDIAN EARTHENWARE KETTLE



less troublous times should ensue, but for more than one hundred years it remained where its original owners had buried it. La Baye successively passed through the ownership of France and England to that of the United States; wars and treaties changed the map of our country, exploration opened up wide new stretches of territory, before this remarkably interesting relic of early faith in Wisconsin, the oldest memento of French occupancy in the west, was reclaimed.

Father Allouez was transferred to the Illinois mission in 1676, and his position as head of St. Francois Xavier was given to Father Charles Albanel, Father André continuing his work among the tribes along the bay shore. Albanel was assisted by Antoine Silvy, and in 1678-79 Father Allouez seems to have returned in order to conduct a mission among the Outagamie and Mascoutin villages, Father Silvy working with him. In 1681, Jean Enjalran was appointed superior of the Jesuit missions in the northwest, including the one at De Pere. He remained in charge assisted by other priests until 1688. During Father Enjalran's incumbency the chapel and storehouse were burned, but not all of the establishment was destroyed, for in 1690 Nicholas Perrot held council with the tribes in "the house of the Jesuits." No mention is made of the priests in charge and for several years following little is known or told of the work accomplished, but that there were still priests in charge of the St. Francois Xavier mission is without doubt. The first one definitely named is Father Henri Nouvel, who was there in 1701, "borne down by the weight of nearly 80 years and by many ailments." He was relieved that same year, 1701, by Father Pierre Chardon, who was still in the Fox River field twenty-seven years later in 1728.

Thus ends the story of St. Francois Xavier Mission, one of the most interesting and important episodes in western history. Three separate places received the name, for Father Allouez made careful investigation before establishing a permanent retreat. It was first given to the Oconto mission in the winter of 1669 and 1670. In that same season a cross was planted on the heights of Red Banks among the Pottawatomies and Winnebagoes, which Allouez also includes under the same name. Finally the well built house and adjoining buildings on the shore at the Rapides des Pères, became the central and definite mission of St. Francois Xavier.

Still engaged in mission labors death overtook Father Allouez on August 6, 1689, two years after the religious house founded by him at La Baye was reduced to ashes. Today the township and village of De Pere hold in their names the anglicized fragments of the French "Rapides des Pères." Railroad tracks and manufactories crowd the river front, where two hundred and forty-one years ago only a solitary Jesuit mission house reared its log walls. In place of a primitive fish weir made of boughs and running irregularly across the rapids, where dusky, painted savages speared the fish below, a solid bridge of steel spans the stream and a great paper mill shows when evening falls its hundred electric eyes of light.

Yet on the grassy banks of the government lock and looking up the river it is comparatively easy to resuscitate the setting for that far off picture of an earlier century, and close to the steel tracks where traffic is busiest a bronze tablet on a granite boulder commemorates the fact that: "Near this spot stood the Chapel of St. Francis Xavier, built in the winter of 1671-72 by Father Claude Allouez, S. J., as the center of his work in christianizing the Indians of

Wisconsin. This memorial tablet was erected by the citizens of De Pere and unveiled by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, September 6, 1899."

Jesuit missionaries connected with and residing at St. Francois Xavier mission: Claude Allouez, Louis André, Charles Albanel, Jacques Marquette, Antoine Silvy, Jean Enjalran, Henri Nouvel, Pierre Chardon.

(References for Chapter V: Jesuit Relations, Vols. 52, 53, 54; A. C. Neville, Historic Sites on Green Bay; Catholic Church in Wisconsin.)

CHAPTER VI

NICHOLAS PERROT AND THE FUR TRADE

For two hundred years the absorbing interest in Canada and its dependency La Baye was the fur trade, the great commerce of the northwest. When the embryo United States of America was comprised in a series of little isolated sea coast towns under English and Dutch rule, New France was a united colony embracing within its boundaries, a territory of some 200 miles. This colony, which did not in 1680 number all told more than 10,000 souls was destined to blaze the trail of exploration and civilization through the great lakes region with the one dominating influence to give impetus to French valor and discovery—the all embracing fur trade.

It caught within its snare Cardinal Richelieu, the controlling power in far off France during the early part of the seventeenth century and the organization known as the One Hundred Associates, Canada's largest fur company, was the result. Other monopolies followed, that sought to engross entirely the lucrative peltry traffic until this far reaching commerce which at first bid fair to enrich the French colony became its bane and ultimate ruin. Louis XIV while coveting the profits of the fur trade realized when too late its fatal results; the evil that indifference to settled colonization had wrought in his North American possessions. He strove vainly in the latter part of his long reign to stem the flood that threatened to wreck his powerful influence in the western world, but England, well established by this time, and in league with the warlike Iroquois confederacy, defied the futile efforts of impoverished and demoralized Canada to dislodge her from her share of the beaver traffic. The inevitable encounter came and the final fall of New France was the result.

Green Bay and the Fox River valley early became an important point towards which the voyageur whether priest, explorer, or bush ranger cast longing eyes, for all were, directly or otherwise interested in this rich fur producing territory where according to Jean Nicolet at one banquet alone one hundred and twenty beavers were eaten. The beaver was indeed until the Frenchman taught the Indian its value in trade, a delicacy much relished at savage feasts, the little animal being roasted whole and eaten in its fat.

The fur trade being the life of Canada the colonial government favored the scheme of sending its young men to gain the trade of those remote tribes who dwelt on the large bay that was tributary to Lake Michigan, for the Jesuit Relations of this period state that the Hurons kept away from Canada, and in 1653 the keeper of the government store in Montreal had not bought a beaver skin in a year, so difficult were they to obtain.

Out of this traffic in beaver skins arose an evil which paralyzed the growth and morals of New France. The active and vigorous youth of the colony

took to the woods, where they were independent of civil or religious control. Not only were profits great, but in the pursuit of them there was a fascinating element of adventure and danger.

To control this forest trade the government issued annual licenses to the number of twenty-five with privileges varying in different years. Baron LaHontan who visited La Baye in 1684 says that each license authorized the departure of two canoes loaded with goods. One canoe only was afterward allowed, bearing three men with about four hundred pounds of freight. This traffic in licenses was the occasion of graft and corruption. As might have been expected many more than the specified number were issued, and were purchased by those who sold to others, to merchants or voyageurs at a price varying from 1,000 to 1,800 francs.

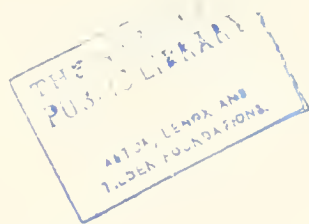
Speculation ran riot, legitimate trade was almost entirely at a standstill and in the meantime the youth of Canada became demoralized and worthless, caring for no other pursuit than that of ranging the woods, with or without a license as the case might be, for with such an extent of country it was impossible for the King's officers to control them.

Baye des Puans and its tributary streams harbored usually in the numerous Indian villages that edged the shores, two or three of these wood rangers, or *coureur de bois* as they came to be designated, who camped with the Indians as did Radisson and Groseillers, partaking of Indian hospitality, which was always free, and bartering their store of goods for packages of pelts as the Indian hunters brought them in. The story of the *coureur de bois*, those Robin Hoods of New France, forms a separate chapter in wilderness chronicles. Not all were renegades, but the name became a synonym for much that was loose and undisciplined. Part of the warp and woof of our history, closely identified with the missionaries and acknowledging the authority of the church above that of the king or governor, these first of commercial travelers acted as both traders and soldiers, and were alike the despair and defence of the Jesuit priests and the home colony. In many cases they reaped the large profits which the king and his fur company wished to control, and paddled inland waterways, the spirit of adventure strong within them. With swagger and determined air of command they intimidated double their number in savages, debauched the Indians with brandy and stirred up strife among the various tribes.

Belonging to this guild of early fur traders but of different fiber was Nicholas Perrot, who with Father Allouez stands out most prominently in our history during the seventeenth century. When the rare relic of French occupancy in Wisconsin, the silver ostensorium was found, the name of its owner, Nicholas Perrot, was almost unknown. Not until the French and Canadian archives were searched, and histories of the eighteenth century referred to, was it discovered that the name of Perrot constantly occurs in the annals of New France between the years 1665 and 1700. For forty years, largely by his own unaided efforts, he held this territory for France and the king. An honesty of purpose in his intercourse with French and Indians made him notable in that age of false dealings, and his influence with the latter was unequalled. Successive governors of New France, De la Barre, Denonville, Frontenac, all called upon Perrot for assistance in time of need, even Dulhut, that intrepid spirit, acknowledging that Nicholas Perrot was the only man who could influence the Baye



OSTENSORIUM PRESENTED BY NICOLAS PERROT



des Puans tribes to the extent of bringing them into line for war sallies against the Iroquois. His courage was absolute, and as we review this period we marvel at the indomitable indifference to personal danger shown in deadly crises by this famous *coureur de bois*.

Brought by his parents to the Canadian colony when very young, Perrot was enrolled, a mere lad in the service of a priest, as an *engagé* or *domné*. He managed the canoe when the father went forth on a missionary voyage, cooked, hunted, did the work of a servant, and in return received instruction, and much valuable experience. Around the camp-fire and in the Jesuit's house he heard of this unexplored part of the world. "Our Jean Nicolet," said the fathers proudly, "has gone farther west than any other Frenchman;" so at the age of twenty-one, in the year 1665, Perrot with a trading outfit started for La Baye.

Following the same route as did Nicolet thirty-one years before Perrot reached in due time Baye des Puans, "Curiosity induced him to form the acquaintance of the Pottawatomie nation, who dwelt at the foot of the Baye des Puans, who had heard of the French, and their desire to become acquainted with them." This would indicate that Perrot was the first Frenchman that this Algonquin tribe had met, but it is certain that they were living with the Winnebagoes at Red Banks at least as early as 1637-8 and doubtless some of them must have seen Jean Nicolet. In the ensuing years they spread along the shores of the bay. When Allouez first encountered them in 1669, they had also taken possession of Huron (Washington) Island, and some of their bands were dispersed over the mainland at the entrance of the bay.

When Perrot reached the Pottawatomie village he found war imminent between that tribe and the Menominees across the bay. The latter while hunting with the Outagamis had by mistake slain a Pottawatomie and in revenge these incensed tribesmen deliberately tomahawked a Menominee who was among the Puans. The resolve to negotiate a peace between these neighboring tribes was Perrot's initial experience in this sort of diplomacy of which in later years he became a master. Among Indians in general the first act of friendship was the smoking of the calumet—the pipe of peace—a religious rite of great significance, for it indicated that in offering the pipe a chief accepted the treaty of peace and adopted the stranger as a brother.

This method of "talking with strangers" Perrot also speaks of in his memoirs as "singing the calumet, which is one of the notable marks of distinction conferred by the Indians, for they render him who has had that honor a son of the tribe, and naturalize him as such."

In the Menominee village after a harangue of great length and power Perrot presented to the offended tribe a gun, and a porcelain collar with the words: "You are angry against the Pouteouwatenis, whom you regard as your enemies but they are in much greater number than you, and I very much fear that the prairie people will join them in a league against you." At this prophecy the father of the murdered Menominee arose and took from Perrot the porcelain collar. He lighted silently the calumet and presented it first to their distinguished visitor, who after taking a few puffs returned it, when it was handed in turn to each of the company. Then the chief began to sing, holding the calumet in one hand and the porcelain collar in the other. He passed on and out of the cabin

as he sang, holding up the calumet and collar toward the sun. Advancing and retreating he made the circuit of the village and again entered the lodge, where he declared that he attached himself wholly to the French, "from whom his tribe hoped for life and for obtaining all that is necessary to man."

The Pottawatomies were at this time decidedly anxious over the fate of one of their bands who had made the trip to Montreal for the first time, and whom they feared had fallen a prey to the fierce Iroquois. Accordingly they had recourse to Perrot's guide, who was a master juggler. That false prophet built himself a little tower of poles and therein ensconced himself invoking all the infernal spirits to tell him where the Pottawatomies were. Perrot rebuking him for his trickery made a calculation of the probable length of time that it would require for the voyage and stay in Montreal, with such good success that when the canoes appeared close on the time predicted, and the travelers were informed that there was a Frenchman in their midst who had protected them in times of danger, they carried the *coureur de bois* "in a scarlet blanket (Monsieur de la Salle was also honored with a like triumph at Huron Island) and made him go around the fort, while they marched in double files in front and behind him." The chief then gave an account of his voyage, "he did not forget Onontio who had called them his children and had regaled them with bread, prunes, and raisins, which seemed to them great delicacies."

Perrot, at this time, met and formed an alliance with the Sakis, Puans and Outagamies, as well as the Pottawatomies and Menominees. These tribes he locates as follows: "The Pottawatomies took the southern part of the bay, the Sakis the northern; the Puants as they could not fish, had gone into the woods to live on deer and bears." In the spring of 1670, Perrot induced a large number of these mixed tribes to make the trip into Canada for the great annual trading festival. In order to bring the fur trade home to the colonists the king ordered an annual fair to be held at Montreal. Hither came fleets of birch canoes laden with Indians and furs brought from the forest, under the guidance of *coureurs de bois*.

When Nicholas Perrot was an old man he wrote his memoirs in which he gave careful description of the Indian tribes among whom he had passed so many years. In these words he speaks of this voyage which proved an important event in the life of the young man of twenty-six: "More than 900 Ottawas descended to Montreal in canoes, we were five Frenchmen."

A considerable portion of this large fleet was composed of Baye des Puans Indians, brave enough on their own soil, but terrified in strange waters where an Iroquois band might be encountered at any moment. At last, however, the protracted strain was at an end, and on an evening in July the great band of savages disembarked at Montreal and drew their canoes up on the beach. These visits of western Indians were the occasion for wild debauch throughout the colony. It meant for many of the Indians their first general meeting with white men, their first taste of intoxicating liquor. The priests and sober inhabitants sought to enforce order, but the soldiers showed themselves as undisciplined as *coureurs de bois* and increased rather than quelled disorder.

Just before the conclave broke up an Indian belonging to Perrot's band was caught pilfering from a soldier and received summary punishment. Riot and bloodshed were now added to dissipation, and La Motte, a much esteemed

officer, was sent for in hot haste to prevent by force of arms an uprising of the fierce "upper country savages." Perrot too was summoned, and by his efforts the disturbance was quelled, the soldier put under arrest, and the savages mollified with some pacific talk and the presentation of a few gewgaws. The affair, however, did not end here, for the Indians although quieted at the time cherished revenge, and when in the autumn of that same year Fathers Dablon and Allouez came to the bay the *coureurs de bois* complained that because of the ill treatment received by the bay Indians while in Montreal they took every opportunity to plunder traders' goods and otherwise maltreat them.

The priests held a council with the congregated tribes, and reprimanded them severely for their misdemeanors, telling the older chiefs that they, being wiser than the others, would be held responsible for these evils, and would incur the displeasure of the governor. As they discoursed to their naked auditors Père Dablon says their gravity was greatly put to the proof for a guard of these native warriors marched up and down before the door of the lodge aping the movements of the soldiers they had seen on guard before the governor's house in Montreal. "We were almost overcome with laughter," he writes, "although we were treating of solemn matters, the mysteries of our religion and the necessity of belief if they would escape from everlasting fire."

The Montreal incident was also instrumental in bringing Nicholas Perrot to the attention of Marquis de Courcelles of Quebec, who recommended him to Intendant Talon as the man best suited to accompany Simon Francois Daurmont, Sieur de Lusson, westward, and assist him in gathering representatives of all the Indian tribes at the Sault Sainte Marie where was to be held the following year, 1671, the great ceremony of taking formal possession of the whole northwestern territory for France and its king, Louis XIV.

When asked by Intendant Talon if he were willing to undertake this task for the government Perrot replied, "You must know Monsieur, that I am ever at your service, and stand ready to obey you." Admirably did the brave *coureur de bois* succeed not only in this undertaking for the honor of his country, but in all succeeding years. At the Sault in May, 1671, met the allied tribes, fourteen in all, for those too wary to undertake the voyage sent gifts and homage by their comrade and representative Nicholas Perrot. Father Allouez made the opening address wherein he glorified the king of France as a great warrior, who led in person his armies to battle, and slew his thousands amid universal carnage.

This fine bit of word painting delivered in the Algonquin tongue deeply impressed his listeners, and when at the close St. Lusson called upon those present to swear allegiance to this valiant monarch, the Indian whoop rose wildly in unison with the French cries of "vive le roi." During this tumult Perrot advanced and planted in the earth a stout pole of cedar, and beside it a large cross, both surmounted by the arms of France, while the chant of priests and soldiers sounded across the rushing waters of la Sault Sainte Marie, and St. Lusson drawing his sword took possession of an unlimited extent of unexplored country "in the name of the most high, mighty and redoubtable monarch, Louis 14th of the name, King of France and Navarre."

During the ensuing years, although continuing his interests in the west, Perrot was much of the time at Three Rivers, Canada. He had married, and his wife, Marie Madeline Raclot, brought him a small dower with which he

bought a farm between that place and Montreal. A family grew up around him filling with young life his log cabin on the St. Lawrence—Nicholas, Clemence, Michel, Marie and Claude, with the typical French names we seem to call up a chattering crowd of black eyed little Gascons, greeting noisily the *coureur de bois* when he returned from making treaties or pursuing trade. The forest life engrossed him more and more, however, and the calm existence of a *habitant* working soberly his *arpent* of land was little to the taste of one bred to wandering.

Around Baye des Puans many changes had taken place in the decade following the coming of Father Allouez in 1669. Trade followed closely on the steps of evangelization. The mission house at the Rapides des Pères, included in its group of buildings a trading and store house for the convenience of *coureurs de bois*. In 1827 the foundations were still remaining, "at Depere, on the east side, a short distance above the dam, and near the bank. It was in the immediate neighborhood of an old place afterwards occupied by William Dickinson."

Father Allouez was transferred to the Illinois country in 1676, leaving André in charge of St. François Xavier. The place was a favorite rendezvous for *coureurs de bois*, and the fathers although disapproving the methods pursued by the lawless bush rangers yet made them welcome, for it strengthened the position of the church to continue friendly relations with these commercial outlaws. Many of them were like Perrot former *engagés* of the priests, and personal friendship was added to the hospitable rule of welcoming all strangers who claimed harbor at the mission house. Meanwhile Governor Frontenac at Quebec was instituting vigorous measures to control the beaver traffic. "Three fourths of the trade in Skins or Fur came from the People that live around the great Lakes. . . . All persons of what Quality or Condition soever, are prohibited to go or send to these Lakes without a License under the pain of Death;" yet more and more the traffic grew, *coureurs de bois* remaining in the forest, not returning to the home colony for fear of punishment, and spending years among the savages.

Belonging to this fraternity of unlicensed traders was Dulhut, a name with a record famous in western annals of that period. Michilimackinac and La Baye knew him well, and one of his meteoric descents upon the latter place is given by Father Hennepin, a Recollet priest who was saved from ill-treatment at the hands of the Sioux by Greysolon Dulhut's intercession. The *coureur de bois*, to escape from the penalties placed upon illicit trading, had not returned home for four years, having left Quebec for the woods in 1676. He had lost all count of time as he acknowledged to Father Hennepin, and when the two reached St. François mission house in September, 1680, it was the first touch of civilization Dulhut had enjoyed in many a day. At the "great Bay of the Puants" as Hennepin speaks of it, they found many Canadians, who "have come hither to Trade with the People of this Bay, contrary to an Order of the Viceroy." As there was some friction between the two great religious orders, Jesuit and Recollet, Father Hennepin gives no description of St. François Xavier although he celebrated mass during the two days he remained there. It was the first time in nine months that he had celebrated the sacrament, having been prevented for want of wine. One of the Canadians had a little wine

in a pewter flagon that he had brought from Canada; "as for the rest I had still some Wafers by me which were as good as ever, having been kept in a steel-box that was very close."

While here Father Hennepin received by the hands of some savages the ornaments of the chapel used by Father Zenobius Membré, who had been murdered and his chapel among the Illinois rifled. "We stayed two Days at the Bay of the Puants; where we sung *Te Deum*, and myself said Mass and Preach'd," after which having secured a canoe much larger than the one they had arrived in they coasted along the shores of Green Bay, and reached Michilimackinac where they wintered.

It was in or about the year 1682 that a band of Miamis, Maskoutins and Kickapoos murdered the servants of the missionaries at St. François Xavier. Fearful that the French would avenge their death as is obligatory in Indian ethics they abandoned for the nonce their villages, and awaited in trepidation the expected return of Nicholas Perrot to "la baye." The commerce in peltries was becoming more and more complicated. A license at this time or a "congé" to trade, was the permission to take into the western country a canoe with eight men and loaded with merchandise. The buyer of the congé would choose three voyageurs to whom he gave a thousand écus' worth of goods at high valuation. These goods would produce about twelve thousand francs profit, which was divided between the owner of the license and the traders sent out by him. Many abuses crept in, the market in beaver pelts became overstocked, and the "farmers of the west" could with difficulty dispose of them in France or foreign countries.

On the Illinois river Chevalier La Salle, exasperated by the ruin of the fur trade and the consequent demoralization of the entire western country which put an end to exploration and decent government, convened an assemblage of mixed tribesmen and begged them not to trade with anyone not bearing a commission from him, at the same time ordering his men to plunder any illegal trading outfit. "If the King has given to Monsieur de La Salle alone this country, have the goodness to let me know and I will conform myself to the orders of his majesty," wrote Governor Denonville in wrath to France.

La Salle's irregular proceeding caused no little trouble on the Fox River. Although he took precautions to prevent abuses caused by his imprudent order the firebrand had been thrown among an undisciplined throng only too eager for an opportunity to snatch, by murder if necessary, the coveted goods brought by the traders. At La Baye where trade was extensive, the savages plundered indifferently all canoes bearing trading outfits that they found passing up the Fox waterway, and when some of the tribes ventured to Montreal and found that the murder of the mission servants was not avenged or even reprimanded by the government, the Indians conceived a contempt for French valor, and returning to Baye des Puans grew more and more insolent and unruly. At St. François Xavier the courageous priests held their stand despite the hopelessness of the situation. The Outagamie Indians were especially a nation of highway-men, bold, reckless, indifferent to French domination.

In 1684 a visitor came to the house of the Jesuits who has left a picture of life at La Baye that differs from any other written description, and is a pleasant interlude in the continued record of strenuous warfare and attempted enforce-

ment of the fur trade among the Indians. Baron Louis de Lahontan "accompanied with my own detachment, and five Huntsmen was wafted in new canows loaded with Provisions and Ammunition and such Commodities as are proper for the savages, to the Bay of Pouteouatamis," in the month of September, 1684.

The Fox River was first called by the French, *Rivière des Puans*. Father Allouez designated it as St. Francis River, but the name did not continue. When in the latter part of the seventeenth century the Fox Indians grew a powerful and important tribe with a large village on the upper waters of the stream it was called after them sometimes "Outagamie" (Fox), the Indian appellation, or "*Rivière des Renards*," the French translation for River of the Fox. Baron Lahontan writes that "the villages of the Sakis, the Pouteoutamis and some Malominies are situated on the side of that river, and the Jesuits have a House or College built upon it. This is a place of great Trade for Skins and Indian Corn, which these Savages sell to the Coureurs de bois, as they come and go, it being the nearest and most convenient Passage to the River of Mississippi. Next morning I was invited to a Feast with one of the three nations; and after having sent to 'em some Dishes and Plates, pursuant to the custom of the Country; I went accordingly about Noon."

The entertainment began with singing and dancing which lasted two hours, "being seasoned with Acclamations of Joy and Jests, which make up part of their ridiculous Musick. After that the Slaves came to serve, and all the company sat down after eastern fashion, every one being provided with his mess. . . . First of all four Platters were set down before me, in the first of which there were two white Fish only boiled in water; in the second the Tongue and Breast of a Roebuck boiled; in the third two Woodhens; the hind Feet or Trotters of a Bear, and the Tail of a Beaver, all roasted; and the fourth contain'd a large quantity of Broth made of several sorts of Meat. For Drink they gave me a very pleasant Liquor, which was nothing but a Syrup of Maple beat up with Water. . . . The Feast lasted two hours; after which I intreated one of the Grandees to sing for me; for in all the Ceremonies made use of among the Savages, 'tis the custom to imploy another to act for 'em. I made this Grandee a present of some pieces of tobacco, in order to oblige him to act my part till Night."

These amicable social events tendered by the Indians to visiting Europeans became more infrequent as time went on, although when in favorable mood the savages loved dearly to impress their guests with much formality and pomp in entertainment. Only brief mention can be found of the visit of La Sueur in 1683, or that of Henri de Tonti following that of Lahontan's entertainment in the fall of 1684. We have instead the story of Governor de la Barre's unfortunate expedition against the Iroquois, in which he engaged the influence of Nicholas Perrot to enlist the Indians in this vicinity. Dulhut, who was both feared and liked by the savages was told, on arriving at Mackinac from Lake Superior that the envoys sent to the bay tribes to engage them in this expedition had been met by absolute refusal. He also learned that the canoe of Nicholas Perrot who had received a permit from the governor to trade among the Ottawas had come in from Canada. "He sent for me, and told me that no one could, better than I, induce the tribe to unite with us in this war. . . . I set out, therefore, one Sunday, after I had heard holy mass,

to go out among those peoples; they listened to me and accepted the tomahawk and the presents. They only asked for a few days to repair the canoes." One of the chiefs declared to the villages that they should take an interest in this war and go to it since Perrot was taking part in it; that the envoy should not be allowed to expose himself to danger unless his friends were there to share in it. There was much of this talk with prompt response, and in the end five hundred warriors were in readiness at the rendezvous including the untamable and perverse Outagamies. Even more would have joined the expedition says Perrot, in his memoirs, had there been canoes enough to carry them.

From the first evil omens assailed the superstitious savages. A French soldier was killed by the accidental discharge of his gun; a young Indian aiming at an elk shot instead his brother, who was paddling in the fore part of a canoe; and finally an Ottawa was wounded, being taken for an elk in the bushes. Many times the warriors turned back declaring that the spirits opposed them in going to war, but Perrot by pretended scorn of their cowardice urged his band of savages to their purpose. When Niagara, the rendezvous, was reached where Perrot had been instructed to tell the Indians they might expect to find waiting for them three barks laden with "three hundred guns, other military supplies and all the food they should want," they found instead only silence and desolation.

"Time passed and nothing came. They began to tell me that I had deceived them, and that the French were intending to betray and deliver them into the hands of the Iroquois." Then finally came a letter from De la Barre saying that "on account of a disease that had broken out in his camp and caused the death of nearly nine hundred Frenchmen" a peace had been patched up with the Iroquois, and that the Indian allies must return home. In a "memoir of the payments made by Sieur de la Durantaye to the Ottawas for the service of the King, and the execution of the orders of Monsieur de la Barre in the years 1683-4 appears the following item: Given to the Puants, the Saquis, the Outagamis, and the Malominis, on August 20, eleven pounds of tobacco, at eight francs a pound." (Tailhan.)

After this inglorious campaign Perrot having seen his allies safely embarked for their own country, returned home to Three Rivers, remaining there until the following spring. Then came the news of La Salle's mistaken policy and the order given by him to prevent trade with the Indians, and close upon this disturbing intelligence, Perrot received from the recently appointed governor of New France, Denonville, a commission as commander-in-chief of La Baye and its dependencies further west, and "even those regions which I might be able to discover." This important office having been accepted, Perrot departed for his new post, and discovered immediately the disastrous effect of La Salle's order, for whereas he had formerly no difficulty in keeping the Indians in check, and in preventing any pillage of his goods, constant watchfulness and a strong guard was now an absolute necessity.

At the mission of St. François Xavier many councils were held, plots were discovered, reprimands were bestowed, barter and trade carried on. The store house was well filled with peltries awaiting shipment to Montreal and a profitable season looked for. The Miamis to the number of forty, loaded with beaver skins, came from the south many leagues away to bring tribute and

tell the commandant of their grievances. "When they came near the house of the Jesuits, canoes were sent to them that they might cross a little stream," and the chief of the delegation sent his young warriors in advance to erect cabins for their accommodation. The place of rendezvous was the mission house to which they brought one hundred and sixty beaver skins, and piled them in two heaps. Then began the tale of indignities received at the hands of the Mascoutins, of murders committed by that tribe among the Miamis and the French, ending with the words, "those beaver skins which thou seest tell thee that we have no will but thine, that if thou tellest us to weep in silence we will not make any move."

Perrot's oratory was powerful and much liked by the savages, for he had acquired the Indian's allegorical style to a remarkable degree. Thus as he divided his merchandise into two heaps, closely watched by Pottouetomies, Sakis, and Miamis he announced dramatically: "I place a mat under your dead and ours, that they may sleep in peace; and this other present is to cover them with a piece of bark in order that bad weather and rain may not disturb them." Thus he satisfied the tribes with gifts and friendly talk and as he kept his promises was much esteemed: "the most distinguished among the Frenchmen," "his feet are on the ground, his head in the sky," "he is master of the whole earth," thus his savage vassals designated him.

It was in the year following his appointment as commander at La Baye with a detachment of forty men, that Nicholas Perrot presented to the mission of St. François Xavier the world famous silver ostensorium, the oldest relic yet found of French occupancy in Wisconsin. In June, 1686, Governor Denonville wrote to Commander Durantaye at Mackinac that he purposed to make another sortie on the Iroquois, and urged him to gather the Ottawas for service. "If Nicholas Perrot can assemble some Indians to join the force of M. Dulhude, he must make haste." Perrot's intimate knowledge of Indian campaigns made him well aware that no move would be made so late in the season, for aside from the assembling of the slow moving throng, which entailed endless harangues and urging, canoes must be constructed for a water expedition, carefully framed and sewed and pitched, and moreover the tribes were not as kindly disposed to listen to the war talk of Onontio as in former days. To make the circuit of the tribes Perrot "traveled sixty leagues on the plains without other guide than the fires, and the clouds of smoke that he saw." When he reached the Miamis he offered to them the club in behalf of Onontio with several presents, and said to them, "The cries of your dead have been heard by your father, who desiring to take pity on you has resolved to sacrifice his young men in order to destroy the man-eater who has devoured you."

The club, the most primitive of war weapons, was accepted by the tribes and they gave their oath to use it against the Iroquois, but treachery was abroad, and Perrot could no longer depend upon the loyalty of his dusky henchmen. When near La Baye he received warning that his warehouses in the Trempeleau valley were to be plundered and burned by the Mascoutins, Kickapoos and Outagamies. After much diplomatic and threatening talk he dispersed the bands of disaffected savages who however excused themselves from accompanying the Denonville expedition on the plea that they were not accustomed to travel in canoes. Perrot doubtless with many misgivings pre-

pared to obey the commands of Denonville, and in May, 1687, accompanied by the Pottawatomies, the only one of his Baye des Puans allies to stand by him in this campaign, he reached Michilimackinac. As the canoes drew near, the Ottawa bands who were on the lookout—naked and having no other ornament than their bows and arrows—marched down to the shore abreast, and formed a battalion. At a certain distance from the water they began to defile, uttering cries from time to time. Meanwhile the Pottawatomies set themselves in battle array to make landing. When within gunshot from the land the Frenchmen who were with the Ottawas fired a volley of cartridges, the Ottawas uttered loud shouts of "Sassakoue" and the Pottawatomies gave their war cry. Finally when the landing must be made the Ottawas rushed into the water, clubs in hands, the Pottawatomies at the same moment darting forward in their canoes, clubs in hands. Then all was pell-mell, and the Ottawas lifted up the canoes which they bore to land.

This expedition accomplished little outside of the destruction of the town and crops of the Senecas, and at its conclusion Perrot went on to Montreal in order to purchase new merchandise. While there he received the crushing news that the mission house of St. François Xavier had been burned by the Outagamies, Mascoutins and Kickapoos, the same Indians who had once before threatened the destruction of Perrot's warehouses. In this disastrous conflagration went the furs that the *coureur de bois* had been collecting for two or more years, biding his opportunity to get them past English traders and Iroquois Indians to Montreal. The amount of his loss was 40,000 livres, about \$7,500, which meant ruin to one whose sole dependence was the fur trade.

In a letter written to one of his creditors August 20, 1684, Perrot explains how the orders given him to attend the war interfered with all chance of shipping his peltries to Canada, and thus paying debts incurred for merchandise, "as I brought back nothing, even to pay for merchandise that I carried out, for fear of being punished for disobedience, I am ashamed." (V. 2, p. 252.) Not all the establishment at Rapides des Pères was destroyed, for Perrot returned there in the fall of 1688 with a detachment of forty men; Denonville, who felt he had humiliated the haughty Iroquois, "was certain that trade could not be better maintained than by sending back all the voyageurs who had left their property in order to join the expedition."

In the decade between 1680-90 the English made desperate efforts to direct the beaver traffic of western waters to Albany rather than Montreal. Not so desirable as comrades the Indians found them better paymasters than the French and their promise on the whole more to be relied on. After the fur fleets left Mackinac en route for Canadian markets they were often intercepted by well equipped English traders, who tempted by generous reward not only the Indians but their French comrades to barter away a whole cargo.

This system of poaching on what the French considered their especial preserve caused most bitter feeling between the governors of New France and Manhattan.

In 1886 Denonville writes: "It is only necessary to ask you again what length of time we occupy these posts, and who discovered them—you or we? Again who is in possession of them? Read the fifth article of the treaty of

neutrality and you will see if you are justified in giving orders to establish your trade at Missilimaquina."

Very cold and sarcastic is Governor Dongan's reply to what he calls "this most reflecting and provoking letter." "You tell of your having had Missionaries among them (the western Indians), it is a very charitable act, but I am well assured gives no just or title to the government of the country—Father Bryare writes to a gent; that the King of China never goes anywhere without two Jesuits with him; I wonder why you make not like pretense to that Kindome."

It is an interesting and involved study of cause and effect, this fur trade tangle in the seventeenth century with La Baye and the Fox-Wisconsin waterways the goal of desire for two great nations; and while "Peiter Schuyler took examinations of ye antientist traders in Albany how many years ago they or any others had first traded with ye Indiyans yt had ye Straws and Pipes thro' their noses and the ffarther Indiyans." Nicholas Perrot was speeding his canoe toward these same "ffarther Indiyans" only to find that discord and revolt were abroad in his post at La Baye. He was met at Washington Island entrance by a friendly and powerful chief of the Puan tribe, "a man of great sense who loved the French," and a contrary wind delaying their voyage up Green Bay Perrot had an opportunity to hear all the news. The chief informed him that the Mascoutins and Outagamies had determined to massacre all the French in their midst, "that the Outagamies had taken their hatchets which were dulled and broken, and had compelled a Jesuit brother to repair them; their Chief held a naked sword ready to kill him while he worked. The brother tried to represent to them their folly, but was so maltreated that he had to take to his bed."

Perrot thanked the Indian for his information and told him that his secret should be carefully kept; rewarding him with the gift of a gold trimmed jacket, one of the most coveted of all French gew-gaws. He said however to tell the Outagamies that Metaminens (little Indian Corn), a name the Indians had bestowed on him when he was adopted by the tribes, would under no circumstances visit their village as he was very angry with them. The warning given by the Puan was however only confirmation of what the commander at La Baye already knew; that the Outagamies were intriguing with the English to form between the western tribes and the Iroquois confederation a league lasting enough to exterminate the French and drive them from this region forever.

Quiet was restored for a brief season after Perrot's return to La Baye, but plots and counter-plots seethed constantly in the savage brain. The Ottawas at Mackinac hearing that all was peace among the Bay tribes judged it a fitting time to carry among them fire and sword. As the canoes approached the Rapides des Pères the savages could not refrain from shouting, "There is Metaminens who is going to stretch out legs of iron, and will compel us to retrace our steps, but let us make an effort and perhaps we shall step over them." The house of the Jesuits where the commander at La Baye resided had evidently been repaired or rebuilt after the fire of 1687. Here with much dignity he received the war delegation, apparently quite unawed by their

blackened faces and fierce aspect. Without mentioning the object of their errand he invited them to smoke, and then asked them if they had brought any letters from Mackinac. "No, no letters," so their chief replied.

That night Perrot roused this chief and demanded sternly that he deliver up the letter in his possession. "Dost thou not suppose that the Spirit who has made writing will be angry with thee for having robbed me? Thou art going to war; art thou immortal?" Believing that the power of Metaminiens made plain to him the secret thoughts of men the chief delivered up the letter, which warned Perrot that should this expedition go through, all the allied tribes to the number of two thousand warriors would rise and cause a general war.

In the morning the prominent Puans gathered, eager to hear what Perrot would say to the Ottawa incendiaries, who encamped about the mission house waited stealthily and suspiciously for the word of Metaminiens. Perrot stood with the unlighted calumet in his hand, and at his feet twelve brasses of tobacco while the Ottawas and other Indians who loved to listen to the commandant's wealth of allegorical language crowded close about him: "Cinagots, Ootouaks, and you other warriors: I am astonished that after having promised me last year that you would have no other will than Onontio's you should tarnish his glory by depriving him of the forces that I have with much labor obtained for him. You have forgotten that your ancestors in former days used earthen pots, stone hatchets and knives and bows; and you will be obliged to use them again if Onontio abandons you. * * * Cease this hostile advance which he forbids. I do not wash the blackened countenances of your warriors; I do not take away the war club or the bow * * * but I recommend to you to employ them against the Iroquois. If you transgress his (Onontio's) orders you may be sure that the spirit who made you all, who is master of life and death * * * will punish your disobedience if you do not agree to my demands." He lighted his calumet and throwing to them the twelve brasses of tobacco continued: "Warriors, let us smoke together." As a result the Ottawas returned to Michilimackinac appeased and resolved to take up arms only against the Iroquois.

In 1689 Perrot was entrusted with still greater responsibility by the French government. In addition to his command at La Baye he was further ordered to take possession for France of the "Bay of Puants, the lake and river of the Outagamies and Maskoutins, the river of the Ouiskonche and that of Mississippi, the country of the Nadouesieux, the Sainte Croix River and that of Saint Peter, and other places farther removed."

This comprehensive order was executed by Perrot with all due ceremonials possible in the midst of the desert. Among the witnesses appear the names of Father Joseph J. Marest, the voyageur Le Sueur, and Boisguillot, commandant under Perrot "of the French in the vicinity of the Ouiskonche on the Mississippi." The act of taking possession is in the Archives of the Marine, and is dated at the post of St. Antoine, May 8, 1689. This fort was located on Lake Pepin, on the Wisconsin side, and its remains were plainly visible fifty years ago. Perrot's duties as commandant of the several forts built by him included the order "to keep peace among the diverse Indian tribes * * * to prevent brawls and riot among them and the coureurs de bois; to seek out new

countries and attach their inhabitants to France, and in time of war to collect bands of warriors and to act as their leader."

The days had gone by when western tribesmen could be impressed by French pomp and circumstance, yet they still held in regard Nicholas Perrot, and listened to him when they would to no other envoy from the central government. The brave commandant of the west had however many hair-breadth escapes, among others from the Mascoutins in 1692, who holding Perrot responsible for the death of one of their warriors condemned him to be burned with a Pottawatomie chief who was his companion; both, however, escaped through a ruse of the Frenchman and reached Green Bay in safety. A memento of Perrot at this period is preserved in the Wisconsin Historical Society. "I consent that from the first beaver which M. le Sueur will find at the Ottawas or elsewhere, belonging to us, he pay himself the sum of two thousand and two hundred and eighty-one livres, eight sols, six deniers, in beaver at the rate of the Quebec office, and this for a same amount which he paid to me for my quittance to M. Bertrand Armand, merchant at Montreal. In testimony of which I have signed the present made in duplicate at Montreal this 28th August 1695.

"I will pay the cartage of said beaver.

"N. PERROT."

Perrot's succeeding years were spent in continual efforts to keep peace for the French and secure their good treatment from the hands of the savages. The country was in desperate plight, commerce was almost at a standstill, the English coming boldly into the territory of New France and trading for furs. The fields in Canada remained untilled, the mission outposts were largely deserted, while famine and constant menace from surrounding Indian tribes depleted the French garrisons. Then came the final crushing catastrophe, the surprise of La Chine hamlet on the island of Montreal and in night and tempest the swift and terrible massacre of the entire population.

In this crisis Perrot's lifelong training and loyalty stood his country in good stead. Fearless, depending solely on his personal influence, the brave commandant of La Baye went from tribe to tribe calling on them to be faithful to the French, making known the treachery of the Iroquois, smoking innumerable calumets with disaffected savages, appealing with unfailing sagacity to Indian superstition or cowardice. In the end he prevented what would have otherwise occurred, a general massacre of the French throughout the northwest. Cadwallader Colden, English governor of Manhattan, writing fifty years later, gives scant praise to French valor, yet accords high honor to Nicholas Perrot who at this time "with wonderful sagacity and infinite hazard to his own person diverted the savages from their murderous purpose."

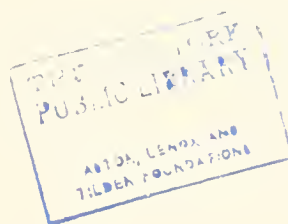
In 1695 Perrot was at his quarters at La Baye post, with a command of sixty or eighty men, whom he sent forth to quell a desperate revolt among the Miamis, while at the same time he held with an iron grasp the Outagamies in partial subjection. The imperative recall of the *coureurs de bois*, by edict of the king was sent forth by the government in 1699. As a commercial venture the western fur trade was no longer profitable, and had brought in its wake all sorts of confusion and misery to New France. The absolute suppression



WILLIAMS CHINA, BELONGING TO MRS. DUNHAM



THE REID CHINA—TEAPOT AND CREAM JUG



of trading licenses deprived Nicholas Perrot however of the last possible chance of retrieving his fortune. Harassed by debt, the *coureur de bois* made one attempt to claim from the King some recognition of the service he had rendered to France. A memorial representing his needs and the important work done by him was forwarded to the home office. "He is very poor and very miserable," wrote Governor De Callières, "large sums are justly due him for what he has expended in the King's service," but in the voluminous correspondence received when a vessel arrived from the Canadian colony there was little chance for the appeal of a bourgeois colonist to be heard.

Although neglected by the government there were many compensations remaining in the old voyager's existence. He still owned his log house in the Seignery de Becancour, Canada, of which in 1710 he was made magistrate. Governor Vaudreuil favored the Perrots in all possible ways, and Perrot's biographer, Father Tailhan remarks naively, that although in the depths of poverty the old *coureur de bois* found this easier to bear from the fact that the Durantayes, Joliet, and other comrades were in the same condition. Misery loves company, especially such good company, and having a snug house, a well-filled pipe and a congenial gossip with whom to talk over old campaigns harder fates might be imagined for a retired voyageur in the sunset of his days.

In August 1701 a great council was held at Montreal. Once more the St. Lawrence was covered with fleets of canoes as in the palmy days of French supremacy. From the bay country came representatives of all the warlike tribes, Foxes, Sauks, Pottawatomies, their sole reason for seeking Montreal so they told Governor De Callières, being the recall of Nicholas Perrot. When Ounonguisee chief of the Pottawatomies threw down before De Callières a packet of beaver he cried out that for his obedience in attending this council he asked from the governor but one recompense—that Perrot (*Metaminens*) be returned to his post at Baye des Puans. "He is the most esteemed of all Frenchmen who have come to us and will aid me as no other can in enforcing thy word." Then Noro, grand chief of the refractory Foxes told how his people had stifled their angry resentment toward the Chippewas and joined the other tribes in their trail to Montreal with the sole hope of procuring the return of Perrot. "We have no head left" he lamented "since he was taken from us."

Their entreaties were met by vague promises: "Perhaps another year" thus his excellency temporized; the Indians were sent back without their old and tried commander, and henceforth the names of Perrot, Vincennes and Dulhut became a memory only among the nomadic bands they had ruled so long. Only once in succeeding years does *Sieur Nicholas Perrot* emerge for a moment from the shadows closing around him, and then as presenting a petition to the government asking that clemency be shown to the Outagamies, for the cruel and unequal conflict between that tribe and the French, known as the Fox wars had already begun.

The old *Sieur Perrot* urges, "they will listen to me, I can make peace with them," but the warning was unheeded and after that there is silence, the old voyageur's work is done.

(References for Chapter VI: Tailhan, Nicholas Perrot; Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi, etc.; Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. 16; Doc. Hist. of N. Y., Vol. 1, Colden, History of the Five Nations.)

CHAPTER VII

THE FRENCH FORT AT LA BAYE

The early part of the eighteenth century saw La Baye region, of which St. François Xavier mission and trading house on Fox river was the pivotal point deserted save by persistent and wandering *coureurs de bois*. These free-booters of the wilderness disobeyed the King's orders to quit the upper lake country and continued to carry on illicit beaver commerce with the Indians. Eighty-four out of one hundred and four ignored the royal commands and made their way to the Mississippi, presumably by way of Green Bay, as this was considered the most lucrative post in the western territory.

Father Enjalran and Sieur de Courtemanche, Lieutenant of troops and Captain of Guards were sent in 1700 with a peace treaty to the Indian tribes in the vicinity of Fox river, and also with a general order that all Iroquois prisoners among the western nations should be returned in order to placate the powerful confederacy of "the Five Nations." It was a difficult mission and only partially successful for there was no longer a French commandant in charge of La Baye post to enforce the orders of King Louis' deputy in New France, Governor de Callières.

In 1701, the "Company of the Colony," an association formed to secure western trade proposed to open up commercial depots at various military posts, with Detroit as the central warehouse. It was not intended by the directors to "make beaver skins more abundant, for they are overstocked with them," but to institute some system in the peltry traffic, and if possible to exercise partial restraint over the *coureurs de bois*, who as Jesuits and high officials of the government agreed, were ruining alike trade and the only channel through which trade could be sustained—the Indian.

The Jesuit missionary Joseph Marest, in a letter dated at Michillimackinac in October 1701, writes to La Mothe Cadillac at Detroit that "Our canoes left nearly 15 days ago for la baie, Father Chardon embarked with the last ones to proceed also to la baie, to the assistance of Father Nouvel, who is bourne down by the weight of nearly 80 years and by many ailments." Father Marest proceeds to tell of the arrival of Monsieur Arnauld, a well known trader, who had just returned from La Baye showing that the commerce in peltries continued uninterruptedly despite the disturbed state of the country. Arnaud, so the priest writes, brought no letters; he merely gave information that Father Nouvel was holding a mission among the unfriendly tribes on Fox river, an old man of eighty years and bowed by infirmities. The loneliness of the place was infinite, "never has it been in greater solitude" so Arnaud reported to Cadillac, and Father Chardon must have found the isolated outpost almost

insupportable after the departure of Father Nouvel, when he was left as sole resident in the one remaining building of St. Francois Xavier.

All proof points to the fact that Father Chardon remained at La Baye and its vicinity continuously for the succeeding thirty years, his death occurring at Quebec in 1743, more than forty years after the letter was written telling of his arrival at Green Bay. When the French garrisoned a fort at this point in 1717, they built it where Fort Howard stood one hundred years later, on the west side of Fox river where it widens out to the bay. A house was erected at the same time for the resident priest, Father Chardon, who until then must have dwelt in the deserted mission building at the Rapides des Peres. Strange and bloody sights did this solitary follower of Loyola witness; for this period marks the most desperate and sanguinary half century in Wisconsin history, that which witnessed the successive and unjust attempts of the French to exterminate the brave Fox nation.

The Foxes who had come to the shores of River St. Francis so poor and starved that they were repulsive by reason of their emaciation and wretched appearance had grown under favorable conditions fat and sleek, the owners of far stretching cornfields, and a village numbering many warriors. They grew arrogant under prosperity, and lorded it over the other western Indians all but the Sakis, who dwelt at the mouth of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway, thirty miles to the northward of the Fox stronghold, and who had been their allies long before both tribes emigrated to La Baye.

The Indian name of this warlike people was Outagamie, translated by the French, Renard, and by the English, Fox; their armorial device a Fox. Although courageous in resenting injury or defending their rights, the Renards do not appear to have been guilty of flagrant acts of treachery as other tribes, notably the Miamis, "the gentlemen of the prairie" were discovered in, yet other nations, jealous of their power and resenting their haughty demeanor constantly reported them as stirring up strife and being disloyal to the French.

In 1706 the garrisons and commandants had been withdrawn from most of the French posts on the upper lakes, with the belief that by concentrating the entire force in arms and all merchandise at Montreal the tribes from the west would be obliged to seek the home market in disposing of their beaver skins. Father Carheil writes from Michilimackinac of the deplorable state of affairs at these distant posts owing to the "traffic in brandy, permission for which has been obtained from his Majesty only by means of a pretext apparently reasonable but known to be false." Carheil asks that as this evil traffic renders useless the labors of the missionaries and as "all the villages of our savages are now only taverns as regards drunkenness," their Superior recall the priests from the western missions.

Where, as at La Baye in 1706, there was no military post the Jesuits found it much easier to manage and teach both savages and *coueurs de bois*. "Before there were any Commandants here the missionaries were always listened to by the traders," complains one Jesuit brother, and indeed it was only when a garrison was commanded by one, who like Nicholas Perrot was in sympathy with the church and its scheme of civilization that these frontier outposts were productive of any good in the maintenance of discipline or protection of property.

River St. Francis, so named by Father Allouez in 1670, had forty years later in 1710 completely lost this designation and was spoken of habitually as the "Rivière des Outagamis" or "la Rivière des Renards" the Foxes having preempted entirely this famous waterway. Tales of their treacherous dealing were rife among French and Indians. Nicholas Perrot, twenty years earlier had listened to the warning of the Puant chief that the Foxes meant to join with the other tribes in revolt, and although not placing entire confidence in the report reprimanded those Indians sharply. La Potherie says however that it was the intervention of the Outagamies that saved Nicholas Perrot from being burned at the stake by the Miamis, and in his memorial in regard to the Fox nation delivered at Montreal, Perrot urges the government to consider that other tribes have shown much more treachery in their dealings with the French than have ever the Foxes. He tells of the many times the brave Outagamis interposed in tribal warfare, aiding the weaker combatants and saving them from certain destruction. "It is characteristic of that people not to forget the benefits that have been conferred upon them * * * if I had gone up with Monsieur de Louvigny to ask for peace, even though our allies were not inclined to it, they would have listened" (Indian Tribes Vol. 1, pp. 268, 272.)

Perrot's plea that the Foxes should be spared was not heeded and in May of the year 1716, Sieur de Louvigny with four hundred and twenty-five French and twelve hundred savage allies was sent to quell rebellion in La Baye and its dependencies. It was reported at headquarters that the Renards were intriguing with the Sioux on the west, and the English-sympathizing six nations on the east, thus linking in one confederacy the Indians dwelling throughout the vast stretch from Lake Ontario to the trans-Mississippi region and threatening by their superior numbers to overwhelm the tribes allied to the French.

In consequence of these constant alarms the Foxes were doomed to destruction, every advance made by them to show their loyalty to the French government was repulsed, while their treachery was constantly prated of by the other bay tribes. De Louvigny attacked them in their principal village, some thirty-seven miles above the mouth of Fox river, where in a rude fort, surrounded by a triple row of oak stakes, more than five hundred warriors and three thousand women and children had fled for protection. To this stronghold De Louvigny laid siege and on the third day while he was preparing to undermine their works the Foxes, failing a reinforcement of three hundred allies hourly expected, finally surrendered.

This expedition resulted merely in the burning of a few Indian lodges, and the agreement by the Foxes to observe certain terms of peace. The official report in the archives of the Ministère des Colonies, Paris, gives, however, a different color to the affair and states impressively that "he (De Louvigny) drove the Renards into their fort, and forced them to sue for peace on onerous conditions, which he believed they would not accept. The chief articles thereof were, that they should by force or by friendly council induce the Kickapous and the Mascoutens their allies to do the same; that they should give up all the captives of all the nations, etc."

Six hostages were brought away by De Louvigny as a guarantee that the peace contract would be fulfilled, but reading between the lines one recognizes that this was merely a vast trading expedition disguised under a show of war

in order to deceive the court in France. De Louvigny's contemporaries were not deceived; Perrot derided the results secured and Charlevoix exposed as a fraud the pretended peace. The De Louvigny canoes left Montreal loaded with merchandise, among which were forty casks of brandy. The governor reported that the display of martial force was made without any expense to the King, the terms of peace stipulating that the Foxes were to pay the costs of the expedition by the proceeds of their hunting. The Indians knew that this armistice was bought with the price of their beaver skins, and had no intention of permanently abiding by the peace treaty.

The early years of "Fort St. Francis" as the fort built in 1717 at the mouth of Fox river was called, continuing the name of Perrot's trading post at St. François Xavier, were comparatively peaceful. The commandant was Etienne Robert, Sieur de la Morandière, who in 1721 was relieved by Jacques Testard, Sieur de Montigny. With this well known French officer came Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix, a noted Jesuit priest and author. Charlevoix' "Journal Historique" published in Paris some years later gives a pleasant picture of La Baye fort in the glow of a July afternoon; an eighteenth century scene on Fox river rich in color and interest. In reaching Fort St. Francis the Jesuit and Captain de Montigny voyaged Baye des Puans by night as well as by day, for the weather was fine and the moon at the full. After telling of the islands at the mouth of the bay and the gulf or bay de Noquet, he continued: "We proceeded on our journey during twenty-four consecutive hours, making only a short halt to say Mass and to eat dinner. The sun was so hot, and the Water of the Bay so warm that the pitch of our canoe melted in several places."

Father Charlevoix remarks upon the beauty of the bay shore, "the most charming region in the world. It is even more agreeable to the sight than the Detroit country * * * the Puans formerly lived on the Shores of the bay, in a most delightful location; but they were attacked by the Illinois, who slew great numbers of them; the rest took refuge on the River of the Outagamies which empties into the end of the Bay."

Fully eight days were consumed in the trip from Mackinac but finally Fort St. Francis could be descried in the distance, a palisaded cantonment with a house for the commandant and separate lodgings for the resident missionary, Father Chardon. The Winnebagoes had built their cabins all around the fort, and across the river, was a village of Sakis. In the hot sunshine of a July afternoon the travelers disembarked. The Indians of the two tribes having learned that their new commandant was in the canoe ranged themselves along the shore carrying their weapons; as soon as he came in sight they saluted him with a volley from their guns, accompanied with loud cries of delight. Then four of their principal men waded into the river to their waists, boarded the canoe and placed Montigny upon a large robe composed of deer skins. On this litter slung like a hammock with an Indian at each corner, they bore him to his lodging, "where they paid him compliments, and said very many flattering things to him."

The following day notwithstanding the great heat the Sakis and Winnebagoes entertained their guests with dances on a large esplanade upon which the commandant's house fronted. It was a diverting spectacle for an hour or so, but when the Calumet dance, the Scout and Buffalo dances must all be given, the missionary grew unutterably weary; on the whole, however, his visit was inter-

esting and he learned much of the curious customs of our Indians wherewith he later entertained his friends, for Father Charlevoix was a man of the world and prized in Paris as a raconteur. He returned to Mackinac without ascending Fox river, for on it dwelt "the Tribe which for the last twenty years has been more talked about than any other in these western Lands—the Outagamies," so that there was no safety in voyaging on it.

In September of the following year, 1722, the Foxes met in council at the house of Monsieur de Montigny to give an account of their fierce attack upon the Iroquois, but when their Chief Oushala told of the murder of his nephew, Minchilay, who was burned by that dreaded nation, their vengeance appeared to be not without cause. Montigny seems to have given them good advice and friendly warning but his position in this isolated post on Fox river was anything but an easy one. He acquired influence over the Renards to the extent of deterring them a number of times from warring on other tribes, and on the whole his administration was successful. He was greatly aided in his pacific policy by Father Chardon. Governor Vaudreuil writes in 1724 that "Father Chardon, a Jesuit who is at La Baye * * * is greatly esteemed by the Renards," and through them by the Sioux, their friends.

In August, 1724, Sieur Marchand De Lignery, in concert with Monsieur D'Amariton and the Reverend Fathers St. Pé and Chardon met the Sakis, Renards and Puans in the fort at La Baye. Later in the same year De Lignery, D'Amariton and Villedonné, the commandant at Mackinac, held still another council at this point, and after much parley concluded a peace with the Renards. They were censured for their chicken-heartedness; "I am surprised that those Gentlemen at La Baye should have concluded peace so soon," wrote a warlike individual to Governor Vaudreuil.

The letters wherein the fort at La Baye is mentioned grow more and more discouraging in tone as time goes on. In 1727, the Sieur Duplessis Faber was in command, and his account for services as commandant amounts to two thousand, six hundred and one livres, certified by the missionary as correct. The Intendant Dupuy reports that he has allowed the sum of one thousand livres on this financial memorandum, for the Green Bay post with that on the river St. Joseph "have become more onerous" in consequence of the existing state of affairs. Dupuy, however, feels bound to call attention to the fact that if the commandant advances presents to the savages in order to give weight to his words he must receive a return from them in beaver.

In retrospect the conduct of the Foxes does not seem to have warranted the cruel and unrelenting warfare waged upon them by the French and allied tribes. Even pacific Father Chardon although not advising extermination writes that "in order to compel the nation of the Renards to keep quiet and in awe of us it would be advisable: first, to deprive them of the refuge they have secured among the Scioux, and to that end prevent their being given any of the goods they procure in the upper country, especially at the post established at La Baye des Puans." This post the priest advises be suppressed, "as trade both in brandy and merchandise is notorious, as the commandants have bought these posts."

La Baye continued to be the central point where French officers high in rank and of distinguished family met to consult with each other and to hold council with the warring tribes, and always it was the Foxes who received the blame and

were held as the principal offenders. In 1727 Father Chardon emerges from the obscurity of his mission station on the banks of Fox river as aiding a party of Frenchmen who were on their way to establish a post in the Sioux country "Sieur Reaume, interpreter of the languages of the Indians at La Baye acted with zeal and devotion to the king's service. Even if my testimony, Monsieur, should not be deemed impartial, I must have the honor of telling you that the Reverend Father Chardon, an old missionary, was of very great service there." The missionary and his companion accompanied the party as far as the village of the Renards smoothing the way everywhere for the stranger's reception, and then "early in the morning of the following Sunday, the 17th of the month of August, Father Chardon departed with Sieur Reaume to return to La Baye."

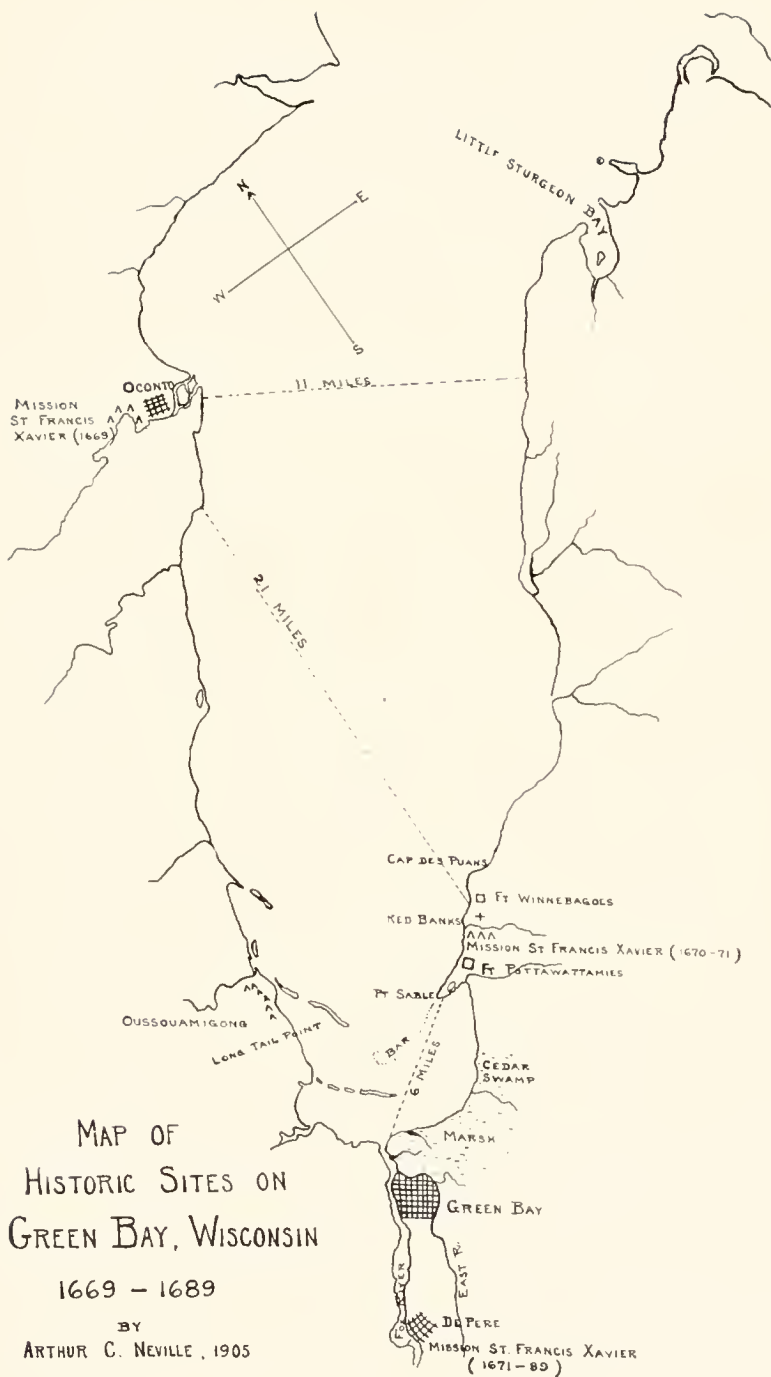
Sieur de Lignery's letter giving an account of his expedition against the Foxes is dated La Baye, August 30, 1728, and tells first of gathering from the different tribes an army of nearly "twelve hundred savages, and four hundred and fifty French. I proceeded to La Baye, where we arrived about midnight. I posted a detachment of savages on one side of the river, and one of French on the other. With the help of some Sakis whom I had with me our French captured three Puans and a Renard, whom I gave to the tribes that they might drink of their broth. They put them to death on the following day."

Nothing was accomplished by this campaign save the sacrifice of these four Indians, and the burning of immense fields of Indian corn, peas, beans and gourds, "of which there was so great a quantity that one could not believe it without seeing. Thus, Monsieur, terminated our Expedition, which will be no less advantage to the glory of the king than to the welfare of both Colonies inasmuch as one half of those people will die of hunger."

Father Crespel, a Recollet Flemish priest accompanied the Lignery expedition as almoner and was a witness to the inhuman tortures inflicted by the invaders on the hapless Indian tribesmen. The Fox encampment at the mouth of Fox river adjoining the village of their allies the Sakis, was only temporary, as their permanent habitation at that date was at Lake Butte des Morts. It was a custom, however, with all the Indian nations to migrate at certain seasons for hunting, fishing or the gathering of wild rice, and as August was the month for the garnering of that grain and also for harvesting the large crops of Indian corn, it is probable that the Foxes had encamped at this fertile point for that purpose.

It was impossible for Lignery and his party to successfully execute a plan to surprise the enemy, for no sooner had the Pottowatomies at the mouth of Green Bay sighted the fleet of canoes than a detachment of swift runners was dispatched by those Indians to warn the Sakis and Renards of impending danger. The day following the destruction of the Saki village Sieur de Lignery's band ascended Fox river to where a group of lodges marked the principal habitation of the Renards. One old man and three women were the only inmates, the remainder of the tribe having deserted the camp; an *auto da fé* of the aged Indian was held and the village and surrounding fields of maize totally destroyed.

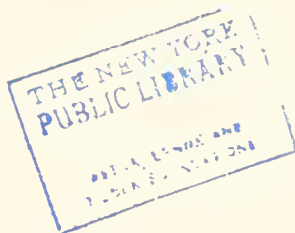
The French officer terminated his ruthless work by burning the Winnebago village surrounding Fort St. Francis and later the fort itself. For this unauthorized act he was sharply censured by the government, "as he had people and ammunition and could wait for orders until the next year," but the mutin-



MAP OF HISTORIC SITES ON GREEN BAY, WISCONSIN

1669 - 1689

BY
ARTHUR C. NEVILLE, 1905



ous spirit shown by the voyageurs, which he confesses caused him more trouble than he had ever before experienced coupled with Father Chardon's recommendation that La Baye post be abandoned because of its dissolute character, doubtless led De Lignery to destroy it.

An investigation into the expense incurred by the expedition was also made and Lignery accused of wasting and misappropriating the supplies. Not until two years later is there record of his being cleared of the indictment. The court-martial assembled for investigation acquitted and relieved him from the charge of misbehavior both as "regards the expedition under his charge, and the purchases of Provisions that he caused to be effected at Michilimackinac."

That Lignery was highly thought of is certain. He is said to have been the man in power in all the colony, "and French and savages would have marched under his orders with great pleasure," but to his official complaint the significant marginal note is appended, "M. De Lignery allows the Foxes to escape," indicating that the government, intent on the destruction of that tribe, considered him dilatory, and too much inclined to clemency in his treatment of the offending Indian. His later war record, however, shows him as serving his country with great credit and bravery.

A commander for still another expedition against the unsubdued Outagames was found in Pierre Paul, Sieur Marin, who in May, 1730, established a post among the Menominees. Marin joined the Folle Avoines in an attack on the Renards, on suspicion that the latter had either captured or killed a neighboring nation,—the Puans; who had "not been seen walking about their villages for some time." The war had indeed been going on for nearly a month and a half between the Puans and Foxes before inquiry was made.

The Puans had built a fort on a small island in little Lake Butte des Morts in the belief that the Foxes had abandoned permanently this part of the country when the latter returned and immediately commenced hostilities. In March, 1731, Marin with a detachment of five Frenchmen headed a band of Menominee warriors to go in aid of the besieged Puans. The campaign ended in the killing of one and wounding of two Frenchmen, ten killed and wounded among the Menominees and twenty-five among the Foxes, of whom the remainder withdrew leaving their villages deserted. The French on the fifth day of combat observed "Ravens alighting in the Fox fort, this left us no doubt that they were no longer there."

On his return from this sortie Marin brought with him all the Puans, whom he left at La Baye where, so the narrative goes, they established themselves in a fort.

The final and crushing blow against the Fox nation was given by Nicholas Coulon, Sieur de Villiers in the month of August, 1730. The tribe had been secretly offered an asylum among the Iroquois and assured a safe passage through the lands of the Ottawas. They had begun the long march eastward, when the Mascoutins, Kickapoos and Illinois descried them on the trail, and at once notified the commandants at the different posts. A war party under De Villiers numbering about fourteen hundred men started in pursuit. The Foxes made a courageous stand, but finding themselves far outnumbered and being on the verge of starvation, tried to withdraw under cover of the night and a violent storm of wind and rain. The crying of the little children betrayed

them, they were pursued, three hundred warriors were killed or captured, six hundred women and children absolutely destroyed.

In 1731 when the Green Bay post was reestablished under command of De Villiers a few poor fugitives of the haughty Renards, came begging for peace and their lives. To this exterminator of his nation came Kiala, a chief of renown and offered his life for the lives of his people. The commandant ordered that the poor savage be taken to Montreal, where Governor Beauharnois condemned him to slavery in Martinique, but chained in a slave gang the proud chief of the untamable Foxes did not long survive this inhuman sentence.

Sieur de Villiers, who had been sent to reestablish the post at the mouth of Fox river wrote that the Sakis had rebuilt their old village just across the river from the fort, and that they were there with their families. Permission had been given to the voyageurs to carry stocks of trading goods to the place and Beauharnois wrote to France that he should continue the post as it was before evacuated.

In a "Memoir of the King" despatched from France, May 12, 1733, Louis XV approves highly of the state of affairs at La Baye garrison; the rebuilding of the fort, the blow inflicted by De Villiers, and the placing of that officer in command. His majesty also commends Sieur Marquis de Beauharnois for sending voyageurs with supplies to that post. "Tranquility being no longer disturbed in that quarter, it will be easy for him to send them every year, as His Majesty recommends him to do."

Tranquility might appear to brood over Fort St. Francis and the Fox river valley in the summer of 1733, as viewed from far off Versailles, but there was in reality restless wandering of savage bands hither and thither along the shores of the river and bay, engaged in never ending strife, bloodshed and torture.

On July 1, 1733, Beauharnois, a man ready to carry out the king's pleasure in resorting to extreme measures in the treatment of the Renards wrote at length to the French minister at Paris. After reporting the action of the great chief Kiala, of his intention to banish the savage to Martinique and of De Villiers' efficiency as commandant at La Baye, he pens the fatal words: "I am sending the Sieur de Villiers at once to return to la Baye with orders * * * to bring all the Renards to Montreal or to destroy them. The Sieur de Villiers has also orders if that wretched remnant will not obey to kill them without making a single prisoner, so as not to leave one of the race alive in the upper country, if possible."

Beauharnois, the colonial government and King Louis in distant France counted too confidently on the cruel policy pursued toward the unfortunate Foxes. Hated though they were by other tribesmen, the French administration at La Baye had antagonized the Indians throughout the whole upper country and they no longer joined wholeheartedly in the extermination of that tribe. There was one Algonkin branch that had never mingled in the savage joy that animated French and Indians alike over the final humbling of the unhappy Renards. This was the Sakis, the Renards' long time allies, who when the few survivors came to ask refuge gave them shelter in the Saki village. The fatal tragedy that occurred in consequence of this alliance and Governor Beauharnois' peremptory orders to Sieur de Villiers, the arrogant commandant at La Baye, is rehearsed minutely in a report sent to France by Beauharnois on

November 11, 1733. "Monsieur de Villiers, the commandant of that post, (La Baye) arrived there on the 16th of September, alone in a canoe. He had left at a distance of half a league from there the Sieur Repentigny, a lieutenant who was commandant at Michilimackinac, together with two hundred savages * * * and about sixty French. The Sieur de Villiers had given him orders to be ready to march as soon as he heard the signal of three gun shots. When Monsieur de Villiers arrived at the French fort he at once sent for the Saki chiefs to inform them of their Father's (Onontio) intentions. The chiefs came to him and he explained to them that their father had granted the remnant of the Renards who were with them their lives; but on the condition that they should submit to his orders and go to Montreal."

"After a council which lasted some time, as the Saki chiefs gave no positive answer, Monsieur de Villiers sent four of them back to their fort to tell their tribe that if within a certain time they did not send the Renards to him he would go and get them himself. When the specified time had elapsed, without the Renards appearing, and when Monsieur de Villiers, whom the Sieur De Repentigny had joined, saw that the Sakis were not coming back he resolved to go to their fort in person, accompanied by two of his children, by the Sieur Douville, the younger, his son-in-law, and by seven or eight French to ask them to deliver up the Renards to him. He had just given orders to the Sieur de Repentigny to guard the approaches to the Sakis fort with the remainder of the French lest the Renards should escape. When Monsieur de Villiers arrived at the door of the fort and asked the Sakis for the Renards, he found there some armed Sakis, who told him to withdraw, and when he tried to enter, a savage approached him with uplifted tomahawk; at the same moment three shots were fired, one of which killed one of the Sieur De Villier's sons at his side. The father and the French discharged their pieces, and this was followed by other volleys from the Sakis, by which Monsieur de Villiers was killed and three French were wounded."

"Monsieur De Repentigny, who guarded the approaches on the side of the woods ran up and was killed a moment afterward in a sortie that the Sakis made against him. The Sieur Duplessis, a cadet in the troops, and six other French met the same fate. Two hundred of our savages who had remained in the French fort went to the assistance of the others, and when the Sakis saw them coming, they withdrew into their fort. Three of them were killed."

This desperate revolt of the Sakis, who hitherto had kept out of the various embroilments in which the Renards had met their fate, took place in the Saki fort which stood on the east side of Fox river on the sandy ridge where Main street, Green Bay city runs today. Three days after this action the Sakis and their allies, the Renards, evacuated the fort and fled up the river. Ensign de Villiers, the son of the commandant had been stationed at "le petit Cacalin," (Little Rapids) with ten Frenchmen and fifty savages previous to the attack made by his father on the Sakis, in order to block the waterway for any escaping Renards. Returning from there and learning of the fate of the French garrison, he started in pursuit of the escaping Indians, overtaking them about four o'clock in the afternoon, eight leagues from La Baye post.

De Villiers was aided by all the other tribes in the vicinity, Ottawas, Menominees and Saulteurs. A fierce and bloody conflict took place lasting until

nightfall. Both Indians and French met with heavy loss, and the spot where the final stand of the Foxes and Sakis was made is now known as Little Butte des Morts. (Hill of the Dead.)

Duplessis, who was killed was the son of the former commandant at La Baye, of that name; Repentigny, who had left his command at Mackinac, to assist in the enforcement of the fatal order to bring by force the residue of the Foxes to Montreal, where they were to be sent into slavery, was also a well known officer in the colony. The brothers Des Musseaux, Daillebout, Ensign de Villiers' brother "a cadet," and Douville the younger were all prominent in colonial affairs. De Beauharnois, at once gave necessary orders to attack the Sakis and the remainder of the Renards to avenge the blood of the French that had been shed. The ensign Louis de Villiers, called "le grand Villiers" succeeded to his father's command at La Baye post, promotion was suggested for the other survivors, and a pension for the widow, Madame de Villiers, was recommended, and later granted.

The repulse of the French by the Saki garrison took place on September 16, 1733. The desperate courage shown by the Indians astonished both the French and their allies. Nothing was talked of, so Beauharnois reports, but this unexpected and fatal encounter at La Baye, and the best means to avenge French losses. The Sakis meanwhile had established themselves in a fort on an Iowa river in close proximity to that of the Foxes. They were reported as regretting their rash act in protecting at the risk of extermination the doomed Renards. The year following the tragedy at Fort La Baye saw another expedition set forth under command of Sieur de Noyelle. Ninety young men eager to try their hand in the final subduing of the indomitable Foxes and their allies joined in the campaign, but the western tribes whom Nicholas Perrot called "creatures of contradiction" had undergone a change of heart following the bold and generous stand taken by the Sakis.

Far from aiding De Noyelle's advance Indian guides led his band astray and in consequence the French endured a journey of incredible hardships. When they reached the Ottawa country they found that the Indians of Michilimackinac had completely changed their minds; that rather than aid in an attack upon the Sakis, the Ottawas begged that the lives of that tribe be spared on condition that the Renards be induced to place themselves at the mercy of their father, as they had promised. De Noyelle, harassed and perplexed by this absolute change in the attitude of the savages retreated after a slight skirmish on April 19, 1735, with the promise of the Sakis that they would separate from the Foxes and return to Green Bay.

The fort at La Baye continued to be garrisoned. In 1737 Claude Antoine de Berman, Sieur de la Martinière, captain of troops, was in command, and from 1739-40, Sieur Marin, who, however, acted more as a peace commissioner than commander for La Baye and the Sioux country. During the summer of 1742, Marin, with an immense concourse of savages, went to Montreal, where a general conference of the western tribes was held. The bay Indians professed that they had "no other will but that of Monsieur Marin," who, indeed, seemed in his treatment of them, just and generous. The Renards made a brief but dignified plea that mercy should be shown them, and defended the attack made by them on the Illinois by proving that it was in revenge for the murder

of three of their women by that nation. They further promised that they would obey the words of Monsieur Marin, who said: "You Sakis and Renards, do not go to war against the children of your Father Onontio; remain quiet at home."

Joachim Sacquepée, Sieur de Gonincourt, in command at La Baye in 1742, adds still another high-sounding name to the long list of French chevaliers, who in the small stockaded fort at the mouth of Fox river, made futile attempts to pacify the warring tribesmen, inhabiting the whole western territory. In the summer of that year, Sacquepée reports that all is quiet along Fox river, and the garrison enjoying peace, but as a large number of the warriors were absent with Marin at Montreal, this brief respite is easily explained.

Notwithstanding the sure element of danger involved, constant communication was carried on between Canada and the western forts, for it was the fur trade rather than military renown that spurred French valor to dangerous deeds. A curious scheme undertaken in 1743, was the farming out by the French government of military posts in the upper country, for the pursuance of trade. These beaver depots were sold at auction to the highest bidder, La Baye being assigned to the Sieur de la Gorgendière, who rented the same to the Sieur Daillebout and other voyageurs at 20,450 livres.

In October, 1743, Paul Louis Dazenard, Sieur de Lusignan, a distinguished officer of the colonial troops, was placed in command at La Baye, in preference to Sieur Marin, whom Beauharnois had destined for that post. The governor of New France veils his discomfiture over the non-appointment of his favorite in his letter to the French Minister dated at Quebec, October 13, 1743.

"As regards the Sieur Marin, I had anticipated the intentions of His Majesty, in giving to the Sieur de Lusignan the Command of the Post at La Baye, for which I had destined the former, less with a view of having him profit by the advantages which this post might offer, than of having him succeed as he has done, in the mission with which I had charged him, for which he was eminently fitted by his talents and by the Reputation which he has acquired among the Nations. * * * I can not refuse the same testimony to his son, who has succeeded in the details which the Sieur Marin entrusted to him in these Negotiations as completely as could be Hoped" (Vol. 17, p. 440).

The system of farming out the different posts caused dissatisfaction among the Indians because of extortionate prices charged by the French traders for their goods. The English on the other hand brought in better goods at less price, and the hunters naturally sought the most profitable market with their peltries. At La Baye in the following year Monsieur de Lusignan, the commandant complains that the farmers exploiting the post are independent of and insubordinate to his orders. He reports that eight or ten coureurs de bois by the payment of 6000 livres in beaver skins have gained possession of this lucrative trade, the farmers agreeing to furnish them goods at the same price as is allowed to the trading posts.

As De Lusignan had no garrison under his command he was unable to control affairs in the Green Bay fort, the traders claiming that as they had paid the price asked for the privilege of carrying on the peltry traffic they were not to be interfered with in any method they might pursue. This mode of

proceeding by the farmers was a direct infringement of the King's command and *Sieur de Angé* the chief instigator of trouble to Montreal, and to refuse to have any goods delivered at the fort unless the *coureur de bois* could be forced to behave respectably.

The stringent measures instituted by government evidently caused disgust among the bidders, for in 1746 no farmer would place a bid for La Baye. The last lease in favor of *Monsieur de la Gorgendière* had expired, and the high price of goods, the full charge for licenses collected, and the obligation to transport the munitions required for the service at their own expense frightened off possible bidders. The commandant at Mackinac "provided for the safety and indifferently for the trade" of La Baye post by allowing two private individuals to fit themselves out with goods, provided the sum of 1000 livres was paid by them.

There is a lease with accompanying agreements preserved in the colonial archives at Paris that was issued in April, 1747, to the *Sieurs Cligancourt, Monière and L'Echelle* for the exclusive trade at the post of "la Baie des Puans." It is a curious and illuminating document rehearsing as it does the various stipulations necessary to carry on the fur trade at that date. The officer in command of the fort was not to enter into any trade directly or indirectly with the tribes; the holders of the lease agreed to furnish him with fuel and lodging and to provide him with presents in moderation to give the savages in order to keep peace. The commandant must see to his own food, but the farmers, in other words the holders of the lease must convey to him every year provisions and goods to the amount of fifteen hundred pounds weight, from which the officer might purchase any supplies required. The lessees were also to carry "free of charge the commanding officer, his trunk, his money box and utensils required for the journey both in going to the said post and returning therefrom."

There seems to have been at Green Bay during this period in rapid succession an exceptional list of commandants. In the summer of 1747 *Jean Jarret, Sieur de Verchères*, was placed in command; "a worthy officer who has often commanded in the upper posts, and has acquitted himself so well that he has always been employed by the General, whenever his services were required." *Verchères* was back and forth between Mackinac and the bay trying to subdue an uprising among the Indians of the upper country. There was continual menace from discontented and rebellious savages, who were insolent to the commandant; pillaged and murdered Frenchmen whenever opportunity occurred.

The commerce in furs continued despite the serious detriment to trade through the farming out of the posts and the reckless behaviour of *coureurs de bois*. The largest consignment of goods sent to any of these trading stations was shipped to La Baye on October 7, 1747, but the farmers of all the posts complained that their losses were so heavy it would be impossible for them to pay the amount of rent asked for. The English too were constantly interfering with the trading ventures of the French, and bribed the Indian hunters openly to bring their furs to a more lucrative market.

Etienne Angé, a lessee of the Green Bay post had from 1744 when his first contract was made been a thorn in the flesh of the commanding officer of the

fort. Complaint was made of him at headquarters in Montreal, but again in 1747 this offending trader signed in a partnership with two others to exploit the bay post. He however never reaped any benefit from the transaction, his notorious misconduct leading to his murder by a Menominee Indian shortly after the agreement was made.

La Baye was constantly growing in importance, and the control of its trade was eagerly sought after by peltry merchants. The commandant at Fort St. Francis in 1750 was Pierre Mathurin, *Sieur Millon*, who belonged to a poor but ancient family in France, and by good service in the colony had been promoted to a lieutenancy in the colonial army. He must have merited the confidence of his government to have been placed in command of the Bay post during this critical period but of his administration there is no record; only his tragic death is recounted in one of the letters constantly passing between Governor Beauharnois at Quebec and the French minister in Paris.

The officer, so the story goes, went alone in a small birch bark canoe, in which he raised a sail, although there was a high wind, to hunt at the mouth of a river about half a league from the fort. This was doubtless Duck Creek, famed from early times as a feeding ground for immense flocks of ducks, the wild rice all along that stream being very abundant. Night fell and *Millon* did not return; diligent search was made by order of the *Sieur de Combre*, a gentleman cadet who was acting as an officer under *Millon's* orders, but with no result, except that the overturned canoe was picked up, probably from the description at Grassy Island. The sail fastened to its mast was found by some Chippewa Indians at Point au Sable, about two leagues down the bay.

During the winter there were all sorts of surmises as to *Millon's* fate, and it was feared that he had been murdered by the savages. His second officer, *Sieur de Combre* in the meantime held the command and was mentioned as performing his duty most satisfactorily. In the spring of 1750 the body of the unfortunate *Millon* was found but showing no marks of violence, and it was evident that the young officer had drowned by the accidental overturning of his canoe, a catastrophe quite likely to happen when the sail was raised in the small light craft.

De Combre was relieved the following August by *Sieur Marin*, the same who twenty years earlier had assisted the Puans in their battle with the Foxes. All danger from the remaining fragment of the unfortunate *Renards* had now passed, but the other tribesmen still gave constant trouble by plundering trading stations and murdering those in charge. The government had long urged the appointment of *Marin* the elder for the post at La Baye as being a wise and strong man for this difficult command. As second officer *Charles René Desjordy*, *Sieur de Villebon* was recommended "who is very fit for the position," and as *Marin* was also ordered to build a fort in the Sioux country, and have oversight of that nation in connection with his duties at La Baye, *Villebon* was officer in command during his chief's absence.

Farming out the posts in the western country was done away with and licenses were again issued to traders and *coureurs de bois*. "Having in the presence of the said traders fixed both the number and the price of the license I told them I would send off their canoes in several convoys under the com-

mand of officers who would be going in the same direction." (La Jonquière to French minister Vol. 18, p. 71.)

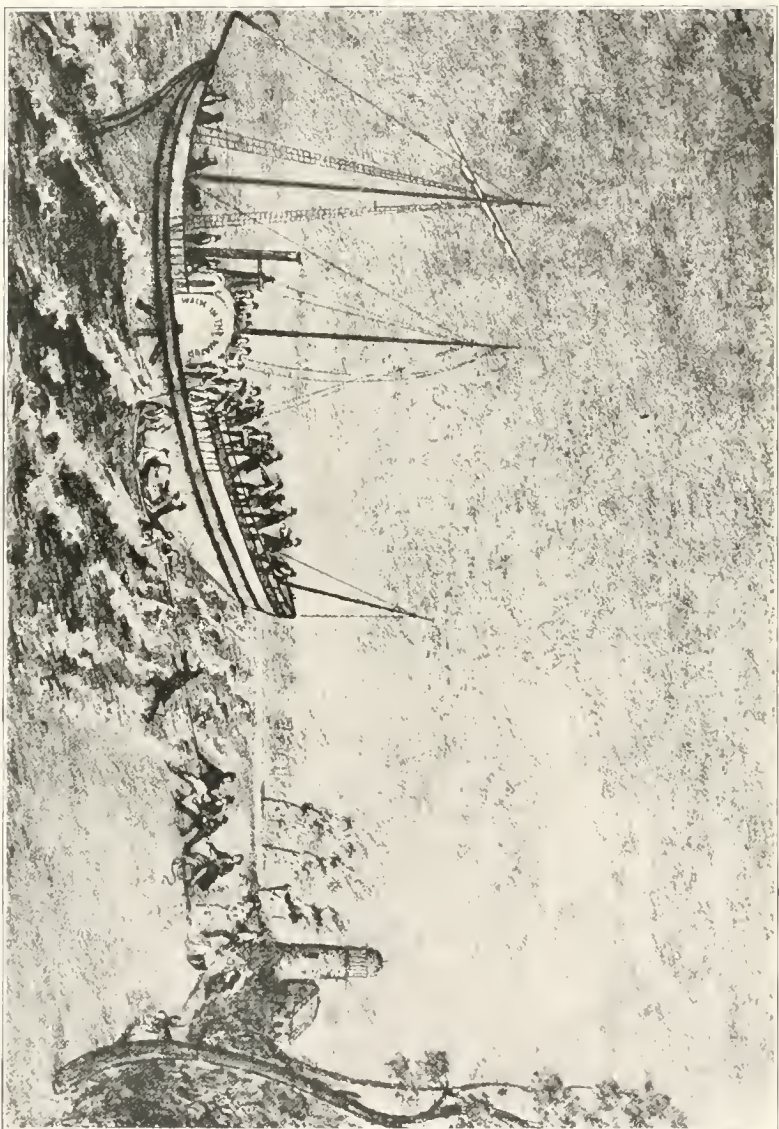
The traders delayed starting their convoys, they demurred at the order to have an officer head the expedition, wishing the absolute freedom and complete control of trade, and exasperated the Intendant at Quebec to the point of threatened refusal of licenses to these insubordinates, or protection of any kind. These were days of stress at La Baye, nevertheless the post was much desired, one of the applicants for its command being Captain de Raymond of the Marine detachment in Canada, who writes to France that having come into possession of certain facts regarding a valuable copper mine in the north-west he asks to be given command at the Green Bay fort in order to pursue his discovery to the advantage of the government. Apparently the policy of the Marins, father and son, met with the approval of government for the petition of Raymond was disallowed.

Joseph Marin relieved his father at the post on Fox river in 1752. In April of that year came direful tidings. Disturbance was rife among the savages, and warning was given that the "Commandants of our posts have so much more cause to be on their guard since our enemies have steeped their hands in blood." Every week brought news of fresh disaster to the dependencies of France. The small pox ravaged alike the camps of white man and Indian, famine threatened and "the sorrowful condition of the entire upper country" was deplored.

In August, 1752, an urgent application was made to the French Minister by Governor Du Quesne, that carried much weight and was backed by influence. Francois Vaudreuil, Marquis de Rigaud, eighth son of that Vaudreuil who was governor of Canada from 1703 to 1725, had become involved in financial embarrassments and to recuperate his fortunes the Governor of Canada, Du Quesne asked that he be given the post of La Baye, "on condition that it shall be exploited by the officer whom the governor-general shall find sufficiently capable and prudent to manage the great number of savages in that region."

This clause indicates that the actual command of the post was to be given to a subordinate officer, Marquis de Rigaud merely reaping the largest part of the profits gained through trade. Marin, who still commanded at the fort on Fox river as well as in the Sioux country, was giving excellent satisfaction. "The Indians of the North are very quiet," writes Du Quesne in 1754. "because Sieur Marin who commands at the Bay and leads the Indians at will has procured repose for them by the peace he has caused to be concluded with the Christinaux."

In 1753 the grant of La Baye was actually bestowed upon De Rigaud, and a lease of the post given for two years only Marin the younger being still in command. There is no record that the beneficiary of the crown visited his post during that time, and the year following he sent an urgent request for leave to be allowed to go to France on account of ill health, as he was convinced that the physicians of Paris would cure him completely. Du Quesne recommended that De Rigaud's request be allowed "as he is really not at all well," but at the same time censured the marquis for boasting that he held the post of La Baye gratuitously from the King, and that he had no rent to pay. He proceeded to say that De Rigaud was a most kindhearted fellow, but that this



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very trait had caused the government no end of trouble, especially after the marquis had been informed that his brother was to succeed Du Quesne as Governor of Canada.

In these last years of French dominion all other interests seem annihilated in the intent pursuance of gain from the fur trade. New France was on the verge of a downfall which would loose forever her tenure in the western continent and bar all further conquest, yet with no premonition of impending evil officers and nobility in the colonial government were absorbed in securing illegally all the profits attainable both from the government and in traffic with the savages.

In the instructions sent from Versailles in 1755, to Pierre de Rigaud, marquis of Cavagnal and Vaudreuil upon his transference from the governorship of Louisiana to that of Canada, special stress is laid upon the continuance of trade in these western posts including the one at La Baye. Hubert Couterot, a nephew of Rigaud and also of Governor Vaudreuil was placed in command in 1756, following the establishment of his uncle as governor of Canada. This high born young scamp who succeeded the two Marins as commander of the fort on Fox river held a part interest in the family lease and exploited the post simply for his own profit and that of his relatives. In 1757 La Baye is listed among the other important French forts as being "farmed for nine thousand francs; all expense on the part of the king has been suppressed; there are neither presents, nor certificates, nor interpreter's wages: all the cost is at the expense of the lessee." This meant that Rigaud de Vaudreuil furnished at his own expense the trading outfit required at La Baye post and hired Lieutenant Couterot his nephew for two thousand francs, (\$400.) to carry on trade with the Indians.

Monsieur de Rigaud is spoken of at this time as "the possessor of La Baye des Puans, the Sioux and their dependencies." His non-residence at the post possibly reduced his profits and induced him in 1757 to take into partnership J. G. Hubert and Jacques Giasson, both well known Mackinac traders. Lamy Hubert was one of the witnesses at the marriage of Charles de Langlade to Charlotte Bourassa in 1754.

In none of the other garrisoned trading posts had theft and license gone so far as at La Baye. Certificates for expenses incurred on behalf of the Indians were fabricated by Couterot under the authority of Marquis de Rigaud, were passed on for signature to Governor Vaudreuil and the money paid. Legal proofs of this system of graft were impossible to obtain, the signatures of the two Vaudreuils high in power and officers of the king were not to be disputed. The abuses at La Baye became, however, current talk in the French colony. "This post has produced fifty thousand écus worth in peltries and the cost has not been more than thirty thousand livres. Rigaud has presented five hundred thousand livres of certificates that the Marquis de Vaudreuil has signed," thus the French general Montcalm notes in his journal of December, 1758.

That year saw Canada hard bestead by war with England and the restlessness and treachery of the savages. The Indians of the western posts hardly knew which nation owned their allegiance, and were insolent and indifferent to authority. At La Baye, Lieutenant Hubert Couterot remained in command and Rigaud de Vaudreuil with his brother-in-law, Sieur d'Eschambault divided

the spoils. A long lease, the rascals complained was required in order to reimburse the farmer for the great losses he was liable to incur at La Baye. This demand was made in March, 1758; in May following, comes to the colony "News from all the Upper Posts," and the bulletin announces that at La Baye the "Menominee Indians" have risen in revolt, killed eleven Canadians, missed the commandant but pillaged a storehouse. Later came additional information that twenty-two French had been killed, and that the commandant, Couterot had "shown himself inept through fear."

The Menominees to "cover the bodies" of those slain in this outbreak sent seven of their tribe to Montreal that same summer. Of these prisoners the French shot three on the town square, while the remaining four were conscripted for the war "in order to expiate their crime."

Notwithstanding the shameless mismanagement of the Green Bay post which undoubtedly was responsible for the uprising of the Menominees, the Vaudreuil influence at court was so strong that in January, 1759, a letter was received from the French minister at Paris stating that it was the king's pleasure to bestow La Baye upon Monsieur and Madame Rigaud for life. "I had much pleasure in reporting favorably to the king on the service rendered by Monsieur de Rigaud in Canada. His Majesty is so satisfied with him that he has departed from the rule in his favor," so runs the flattering screed.

In his reply of thanks Rigaud de Vaudreuil writes: "You will see by the report I send that I have done all I could under the unfortunate circumstances in which the colony was placed to give the king sure proofs of my zeal and faithfulness in his service. * * * I am very grateful for your kindness in procuring from his majesty the concession for life of the post of la Baie, for Madame de Rigaud and myself." In a letter from Montcalm of March, 1759, that soldier, who as chief in command of the French colonial army, kept a keen watch on the few military posts still operated under the command of France, remarks ironically that "according to Monsieur, the Marquis de Vaudreuil there is good news from Michilimackinac, la baie,—great affection of the savages. Good news from Detroit—great affection of the savages." No one knew better than Montcalm how hollow and unmeaning were these confident reports sent out by Governor Vaudreuil. One by one the French forts south of the St. Lawrence had been forced to surrender, until in the summer of 1759, but one remained, Ticonderoga, at the head of Lake George, thoroughly fortified, but in constant danger of attack from a strong force under General Amherst.

The long struggle between France and England for supremacy on the western continent was at last drawing to a close. Acadia had been lost in the preceding year through the capture of Louisbourg by General Wolfe, and in June, 1759, the same indomitable commander, with nine thousand men, twenty-two ships of the line, frigates, sloops-of-war and a great number of transports, set sail for the St. Lawrence. Montcalm, thus menaced, resolved to mass his entire force on the elevations above Quebec. Then followed his defeat on the plains of Abraham, his death, the subsequent panic and hasty withdrawal of the troops by Vaudreuil and the surrender of that French fortress on September 17, 1759.

La Baye had known no other rule but that of France. With the withdrawal of Hubert Couterot, the dishonest cringing nephew of Rigaud de Vaudreuil,

ended the line of French commanders who for nearly half a century had forced the western Indians to pay tribute in beaver skins sometimes to the government, usually to the officer himself. Not until the capitulation of Montreal on September 8, 1760, were all the French forts handed over to the English and their garrisons replaced by British redcoats. A change of masters had come, and the Indians of La Baye, mischievous because of the ill treatment received from the last incumbent, awaited restlessly and sullenly the inauguration of a new policy.

(References for Chapter VII are: Wis. Hist. Coll., Vols. 16, 17; Charlevoix *Journal Historique*; L. P. Kellogg, *Fox Wars*, Wis. Hist. Proc., 1907; Lahontan's *Voyages*; Hennepin's *New Discovery*.)

CHAPTER VIII

FORT EDWARD AUGUSTUS—CHARLES DE LANGLADE—WAR OF

1812

Notwithstanding the disturbed state of the country and especially of that region surrounding the bay and its tributary streams, French Canadian voyageurs had as early as 1744 and doubtless even before this date, built houses along the shores of Fox River, in close proximity to Fort St. Francis.

In only one of the many documents relating to La Baye post is the name St. Francis applied directly to the fort which stood at the entrance to Fox river. In Father Crespel's narrative of the Lignery expedition he speaks of the garrison at this point as "Fort St. Francis" and of Devil river as the "River Le Sueur," the latter receiving its designation probably in honor of the distinguished explorer and commandant of that name. The appellation, however, seems never to have come into general use.

The level shores of Fox River were a fertile and delightful point for settlement; life was easy for the habitant except for the hostility of the Indians, and this danger was in a measure lessened by the close proximity of a garrisoned fort. Therefore the traders, the Jourdain, Jean Baptiste Reaume and others, took up land and built snug cabins near the river bank, the water highway furnishing the easiest road of travel.

Augustine Grignon, great grandson of Augustin Moras de Langlade, in his recollections published by the Wisconsin Historical Society in 1857, states that Augustin and his son Charles were traders at La Baye as early as 1745. No record can be found, however, to prove that the two men left Mackinac as a place of residence prior to 1760. Augustin was church warden in the Mackinac parish in 1756, and prominent as a witness at marriage ceremonies and as godfather at unnumbered christenings by the parish priest. His wife, Madame Langlade, also appears many times in the parish register as sponsor for the little French and Indian children of Mackinac, and at the baptism of Indian usually Pawnee slaves of whom there were many.

Almost every important French family in the west at this time owned Pawnee Indian slaves, who were treated as pensioners and usually with great kindness and generosity. That their religious welfare was carefully looked after is shown by the fact that Madame Langlade and other prominent French and Creole women stood sponsor for their slaves who were brought to the priest at Mackinac to be baptized.

As early as 1744 the parish register at Michilimackinac gives the names of whole families who were brought by canoe from Green Bay, still called at that time La Baye, to receive the sacred rite. This church register on the island also records the method of marriage practiced almost universally in the absence

of a priest or magistrate, an agreement before witnesses of parties wishing to be united in wedlock. Many marriages were contracted in this manner among the French habitants at La Baye post, the validity of the ceremony being recognized by the priest in charge when the children of such unions were brought to him for baptism. Madame Augustin de Langlade's brother was a powerful Ottawa chief, Nis-so-wa-quet or La Fourche, and this connection added greatly to the influence of her famous son, Charles Michel. Her first husband, Daniel Villeneuve was the father of three sons, two of whom were killed in a raid led by their halfbrother, Charles, and of three daughters. The eldest, Agathe, as the wife of Monsieur Souigny, a retired French officer, and after his death of Amable Roy, was one of the earliest residents in the little hamlet on Fox river.

In common with other Mackinac traders, Augustin de Langlade was undoubtedly back and forth between that place and Green Bay, in the interests of the peltry traffic, taking part, as his great-grandson, Augustin related, in the life of both settlements, but his son Charles, had warrior blood in him and the French government recognizing his value as a commander kept him constantly engaged in leading Indian bands to war.

On March 15, 1755, Charles de Langlade received his commission as ensign in the French army, following his appointment as cadet in 1750, when twenty-one years of age. The deed that brought him into prominence and from which he received much glory was the capture two years later of Pickawillany, an Indian town in Ohio, where English traders had for some time been endeavoring quite successfully, to undermine French influence with the savages. In the official report of this expedition sent to France from Quebec—on October 25, 1752, by Governor Duquesne, he speaks of the "Journal of Sieur de Langlade" which he has the honor of sending to the king, and predicts that the young officer's brilliant coup delivered at this time will put an end definitely to English trade on French territory. Duquesne also recommended that a yearly pension of 200 livres be bestowed on Langlade, who "is very brave, has much influence on the minds of the savages and is very zealous when ordered to do anything."

Duquesne adds that Langlade at this time had "married a savage woman." This was an Ottawa Indian girl, by whom he had one son, Charles, sent at an early age to Canada where he was educated, and acknowledged as the legitimate son of Langlade. The marriage of Charles Michel de Langlade and Charlotte Enbroise Bourassa is recorded in the Mackinac register, under date of August 11, 1754, two years after Duquesne's letter of recommendation was sent to France, Langlade being twenty-five and his bride nineteen.

The year following the young officer took notable part in the campaign against the English force under General Braddock. The surprise of Braddock's army at the Monongahela; the swift descent of Indians and French upon the camp; the total rout of the British forces and death of their general, have long been known in history, but only in recent years has it been recognized that to Langlade's prompt and strategic move the victory over a greatly superior force was due.

On the twenty-ninth of June, 1759, it was reported at Montreal that Charles de Langlade with Pierre Gautier de la Vérendrye were coming down the St.

Lawrence with twelve hundred Indians of the western tribes. Montcalm, menaced by the English forces under General Wolfe had summoned Langlade with his Indian allies to aid him in the defense of Quebec, and it is said that had the French general listened to the urgent appeal of the Creole leader and a sortie on the English army been made by his Indian forces that fatal day might have resulted in victory for the French arms. Instead followed the defeat of Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham, his death, the subsequent panic and hasty withdrawal of the troops by Vaudreuil and the surrender of the French stronghold, Quebec.

Langlade once more in the following spring (1760) joined the reorganized army in the vain attempt to regain for France her Canadian provinces. When it became apparent that all hope was gone and peace upon any terms must be concluded, Langlade led back his Indian bands to their villages in the upper lake region, receiving in acknowledgment of service rendered a commission as retired lieutenant signed by Louis XV; shortly afterward letters from Governor Vaudreuil apprised him of the capitulation of Montreal.

Immediately all French forts including that of La Baye were handed over to the English. The trading post and military garrison on Fox river had been badly mismanaged under French rule and in consequence rebellion and conspiracy among the savages were of frequent occurrence. More than once the several tribes had risen and joined in determined revolt against their commandant and committed depredations on the fort and trading house. Verchères, a man well versed in Indian diplomacy, bold and fearless, experienced their malice in 1749, when a general uprising took place, and the dishonest Hubert Couterot, "inept from fear" remains an unhappy figure in La Baye history.

Marin the elder who took charge after the revolt under Verchères, left Montreal with eight canoes, loaded with merchandise rather than armed men, in order to placate the unruly savages, and the policy followed in the last years of French rule tended toward peace rather than war. The colony surrounding Fort St. Francis had become a part of the Indian country, many of the traders had intermarried with the natives and strong bonds of family friendship did much to maintain calm in this storm centre, but the introduction of an alien element meant a division of profits in the fur trade and above all the French fur traders dreaded English domination and the diversion of commerce from Montreal.

On September 8, 1761, Captain Balfour of the 80th Regiment was ordered to march from Detroit with a detachment from the 60th and 80th regiments of the British Royal Americans, to take possession of, and leave garrisons at the posts of La Baye, Michilimackinac and St. Joseph. The Englishmen arrived at Mackinac by canoe on September 28th, where Captain Balfour met the Indians in friendly council. Here he left Lieutenant Leslie of the 60th regiment, giving him a command of one corporal, one drummer and twenty-five privates of the same regiment. The remainder of the party under Balfour's command sailed with a fair wind, from the island, for "La Bay" on October first, and notwithstanding contrary winds which detained them at the Grand River for four days, they arrived at the extremity of Green Bay on October 12, 1761.

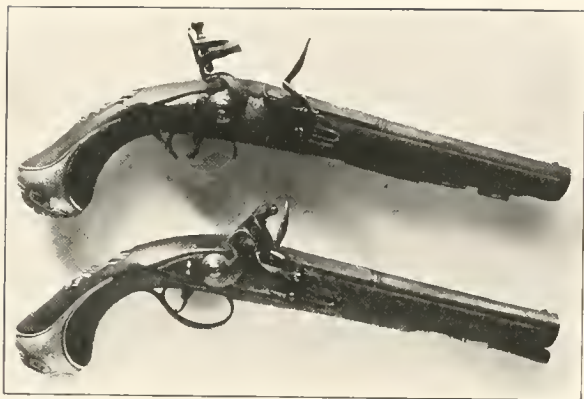
Couterot's administration had left old Fort St. Francis in wretched condition, the Englishmen found the houses without roof or cover of any kind, the stockade was rotten and ready to fall and a general air of destitution and neglect prevailed. Captain Balfour only remained two days at the bay post leaving in command on his departure Ensign James Gorrell, a native of Maryland, who had joined the 60th foot, Royal Americans two years before. The journal of this youthful but responsible officer forms the principal historic source for the beginning of the English regime in Wisconsin, covering as it does, the period from his assuming command at Green Bay in the autumn of 1761, to the departure of the English troops from that post in 1763. The detachment under Gorrell numbered one sergeant, a corporal, fifteen privates and a French interpreter, Goalie by name, who proved himself later untrustworthy and treacherous.

To this dismal outpost was given the name of Fort Edward Augustus, and La Baye from that time on ceased as the appellation for the fort at the mouth of Fox river. The Englishmen found but one family of Indians left in the village, the rest "being gone a hunting, according to their custom, at this time of the year," and there was little chance of their returning in any great number before early spring. It was a fortunate circumstance for Ensign Gorrell, as he was destitute of any wampum belts, strings of wampum, tobacco or medals. Captain Donald Campbell, the officer in charge at Detroit having failed to furnish the Green Bay detachment with these necessary articles toward holding initiatory councils with the Indians.

Two English traders, Messrs. McKay from Albany and Goddard from Montreal had made bold to join this first invasion of the English into the French fur trading stronghold, and their coming only added to the difficulties of the young commander. He proved himself, however, very tactful and pacific; efficient also in the discharge of his duty as head of the army post. During the long, cold winter the men were kept busy in repairing the dismantled fort and in procuring sufficient firewood to keep great fires blazing in the bare rough barracks, and which Gorrell reports must be brought from a long distance away.

La Baye settlement now extended for some distance on both sides of the river and the French creoles, the Jourdain, L'Eveilles, Augustin Langlade's son-in-law, Pierre Le Duc Souigny, the Ducharmes and many others were now definite residents of the place, and not friendly to English rule. They exasperated the English traders by boasting of superior French valor, and it was complained that the Indians were kept in ferment by stories of open war between the French and English and warnings that should they come to the post to trade the new commander would put poison in their rum.

Lieutenant Gorrell merits admiration for the tactful firmness displayed in keeping comparative peace and order in the midst of these diverse and warring elements. His time was amply engaged in maintaining strict discipline in his own garrison and in laying in a sufficient supply of wampum and trading articles to suitably reward the Indian hunters when they returned in the spring. He bought all the beads to be had in the kits of the traders and then borrowed from the squaws in the village all the wampum they had on hand, with the understanding it should be returned with interest when the first trader from outside came to the place. At three different times during that hard winter Gorrell



LANGLADE'S PISTOLS



LANGLADE'S COAT

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tried to send messengers to Detroit for supplies, both by way of Michilimackinac and St. Josephs, but without success. Sir William Johnson while in Detroit in October of 1761, presented to Dennis Croghan, a trader, "one hundred and fifty carbobs of silver, two hundred brooches or breast buckles and ninety large crosses of silver, to send to Ensign Gorrell of the Royal Americans posted at La Bay on Lake Michigan, in order to purchase therewith some curious skins and furs for General Amherst and myself" (Journal of Sir William Johnson), but these trinkets were not received by Gorrell until the following year.

Meantime the French Canadians, in residence near Fort Edward Augustus, did all in their power to harry and torment the plucky young commander. Tales of proposed raids and massacres by Indian tribesmen were constantly brought to him, but only made him more zealous in strengthening his fortification, and in making preparation to meet his unruly subjects in the spring. He succeeded in securing beads enough to have six belts made, one for each of the tribes that he found were in the habit of visiting the place, in all about nine thousand warriors; with the Sioux, who also depended largely on the Fox river post, 39,000. After the supreme effort required to arrange for his six belts, Gorrell was told by the habitants that some nations demanded two, three or four of these peace trophies or as many as they had towns, and that the French always gave them in addition rum and money, thus annually renewing the peace compact.

The outcome was eminently satisfactory. The Indians seemed well pleased with the frank, kindly, young English officer. They accepted his meagre gifts graciously and promised him obedience and many beaver skins. In the interval between the evacuation by the French of La Baye post and its regarrisoning by the English, the western Indians had been brought nearly to the verge of starvation for lack of ammunition and they were disposed to treat in friendly fashion with the new rulers of their territory.

The English government, however, showed a decidedly parsimonious spirit toward their Indian subjects. Gorrell's request for a generous supply of presents for the purpose of holding the friendship of the Indians was met by refusal, the general's orders being to give the savages only such supplies as were absolutely necessary to keep them in good humor. Gorrell reports that this answer to his request made him very uneasy, for the Canadians followed up his refusal to give rum to the Indians by calling attention to the lavish expenditure of the French in contrast to the policy of the poverty-stricken English.

In the spring of 1762, Ensign Gorrell received promotion to a lieutenancy, remaining at Fort Edward Augustus as officer in charge. His treatment of the great bands of Indians who crowded to the post during the summer and fall was remarkably judicious, and his small gifts of tobacco and a few trinkets seasoned with much good talk sent them away contented. To their repeated requests for rum he gave answer that their great father, King George, knowing that they were poor from being so long at war, had ordered that no rum be brought among them, lest they neglect their wives and children, and the purchase of clothing of which they stood much in need. The Indians seemed docile under the commandant's good advice and promised to follow any instructions he

might give, but said that the French commandant always gave them rum as a true token of friendship.

The winter of 1762-63 passed without any occurrence of note, except an increase in the number of traders, French and English who came to the little French hamlet of La Baye. Many went on to the Sioux country along the Mississippi, others sent up their goods, remaining themselves in the vicinity of the fort. Meantime, unknown to the commandant, Indian emissaries from the powerful chief Pontiac were carrying wampum war belts among the western tribes, to bribe them to join in the general uprising against the English, which the chief planned should be accomplished early in the spring of 1763. Constant squabbles continued between the English and French traders at Gorrell's post, and bad feeling was engendered among the Indians by the boastful talk of the rival nations. Among the most prominent of the English merchants were Gerrit Roseboom, Tennis Visscher, Cummin Shields and William Bruce, all well known Albany traders, who remained at La Baye all that winter. In the deposition made by them the following year as to conditions at the post during these troublous times there is much talk of the "Lyes propagated to disturb the Indians." Shields declared that he heard "Young Langlad say before him and Ducharm that there were 1,000 English killed at the Portage of Niagara," and many other boastful and untrue statements were made by Charles, according to the testimony of the angry trader.

Gorrell held his peace and maintained a neutral stand among all these embroilments, but he realized that the Indians were growing threatening and unsafe. News of the murder of his partner and relative Abraham Lansing by two Frenchmen was brought to the Dutch trader Roseboom, and added fuel to the mounting flame. Then on the eighteenth of May, 1763, when almost all the great Indian population had assembled at the Green Bay post on their return from the winter's hunt, Lieutenant Gorrell received private information that an attack was to be made on the little fort. Immediately he called the chiefs in council and told them that he knew of their design. The Ottawas said that they had heard nothing of the plot; the Menominees admitted that the failure to receive colors and medals promised them the preceding year had made their young men uneasy and discontented, but Gorrell by a belt and some strings of wampum renewed all his former treaties and the Indians went away apparently satisfied.

Young Gorrell seems to have gone serenely on his way despite the anxious time. On June fourteenth a band of traders came down from the Saki country and confirmed the story of the murder of Lansing and his son by the French. With this band came Winnebagoes and other Indians asking that traders be sent among them and these Gorrell pacified with presents.

On the following morning, June fifteenth, Gorrell having made up his careful account for the year was preparing to dispatch the document by Edward Moran, a trader leaving for Detroit, when in the sunshine outside the fort appeared ten Ottawas and a little crowd of Frenchmen bringing to the English commandant great news from Captain Etherington of Michilimackinac.

"Dear Sir: (So the letter ran.)

"This place was taken by surprise on the fourth instant, by the Chippewas at which time Lieutenant Jamet and twenty more were killed, and all the rest taken prisoners; but our good friends the Ottawas have taken Lieutenant Les-

ley, me, and eleven men out of their hands, and have promised to reinstate us again." The letter proceeded to instruct Gorrell to evacuate Fort Edward Augustus without delay and to proceed with his detachment and all the English traders at La Baye, to L'Arbre Croche, as a general revolt of Indian tribes under Pontiac was anticipated.

Contrary winds prevailed on the capricious Baye des Puans, and it was not until six days later that Gorrell was able to make a start. In the meantime he had called the Menominee chiefs in council and apprised them of their brother Captain Etherington's distress. The lieutenant's straightforward policy with the Indians of the bay had made them his staunch friends, no heed was paid to the emissaries of Pontiac, and the chiefs when Gorrell placed the situation before them immediately called their entire village together and all unanimously agreed to accompany and protect their brave commander. Representatives from the other great tribes of Saki, Winnebago and Outagamie also joined the escort and it was the powerful influence of this large band of warriors, allies of the Ottawas, that, on their arrival at Michilimackinac, definitely stopped rebellion and allowed the release and safe conduct to Montreal of Etherington and the rest of the English prisoners.

While the fleet was on the shore below Fort Edward Augustus awaiting favorable winds, the Indians busied themselves in gumming their canoes and preparing for the voyage, while the commandant collected all the traders within call and saw that the merchandise was packed for shipment, or placed under the care of a trusty French Canadian in the Fox river hamlet. He also gave freely of presents to the faithful Indians, a luxury that he had been obliged to forego heretofore. Finally on June twenty-first the convoy set forth, the canoe bearing Gorrell being placed in the center for fear of possible surprise and attack. At Beaver island great clouds of smoke rising in all directions made the expedition fear that the Ottawas had proved treacherous and that mischief was brewing. Then on the shore they saw three or four naked Indians holding up lighted calumets, who proved to be messengers from Etherington bearing the intelligence that the Chippewas were still on the war path; that they had camped on Great Turtle island (Mackinac of today) and were plundering all canoes that passed that way.

The English fort at Michilimackinac was situated on the mainland, where Mackinac City now stands. Under safe conduct of their Indian dependants the little band of Englishmen on June thirtieth, joined Captain Etherington at an Indian village about thirty miles from the fort where he and his remnant of a garrison were held as prisoners. Renewed negotiations between the friendly Bay Indians and the warring tribes finally led to the release of the Englishmen and their safe return to Montreal.

Etherington in his instructions to Gorrell had bade him place Fort Edward Augustus under the care of the head chief of the Menominee nation, lest it be burnt before his return, which it was prophesied would be very soon, but the English lieutenant had looked his last upon the isolated, forest-girt little cantonment and the line of traders' cabins on the shores of Fox river. Fort Edward Augustus was never regarrisoned, and Gorrell, still serving faithfully under the English flag died not many years later, on one of the islands of the Caribbean sea.

A certificate dated Niagara, August 1, 1764, the year following the Pontiac uprising, was sent to "Ogemawnee, chief of the Menominy," by Sir William Johnson in recognition of loyalty shown by the western tribes at that time; "Whereas I have received from the officers who commanded the Out posts as well as from other persons on account of your good behaviour last year in protecting the Officers, Soldiers, etc., of the Garrison of La Baye, and in escorting them down to Montreal as also the Effects of the Traders to a large amount and you having likewise entered into the strongest engagement of friendship for the English before me at this place, I do therefore give you this testimony of my esteem for your service and good behaviour.

"Given under my hand and Seal at Arms the first day of August, 1764.

"WM. JOHNSON."

The amount charged up by Evan, Shelby & Company, a Maryland firm, for losses in the Indian trade shows the amount of goods taken by the Indians at Fort Edward Augustus in 1763, as amounting to the sum of 1,440 pounds, in Pennsylvania currency. This was merchandise belonging to Edward Moran, and left at La Baye when the fort was evacuated. Gorrell's account of goods purchased by him from different traders for presents to the tribes amounted in 1763 to 1,165 pounds, English money.

Charles de Langlade had shown great discretion during the Pontiac uprising and was highly praised by Captain Etherington, the Commandant at Mackinac, for his aid in preventing a general massacre at that place. The English officer writes to headquarters that he thoroughly believes Monsieur Langlade was entirely ignorant of the design of the Chippewas and that he did all in his power to quiet the savages and to save the lives of the officers and the soldiers who were taken prisoners.

A letter of August 16, 1763 is addressed to Monsieur Langlade, père, at La Baye, showing that the senior Landlade was residing at Green Bay at that period; on the same date is one from Etherington at Montreal to Monsieur Langlade, Fils, at Michilimackinac thanking him for all his favors, which proves that Charles still had his residence at that post and was in command there. While La Baye proper, which included the fort and settlement at the mouth of the river was within the provincial limits of English control, there was a large territory known as the Sioux country in the days of French rule, under authority of the commandant of Fort St. Francis, but not comprised in the cession made to England in 1760 and therefore not within British jurisdiction. This entire tract, however, was part of the gift bestowed by King Louis XV of France on Rigaud de Vaudreuil and his wife, who on the accession of the British promptly sold this extensive domain to a "Mr. Wm. Grant" with exclusive right to trade, and with the liberty to erect houses and make establishments thereon. Thereupon Sir William Johnson wrote an indignant letter of protest to the Lords of Trade telling of the trickery practiced by Governor Vaudreuil in procuring this grant for his brother just previous to Quebec's downfall, with the express determination of selling the same to some unwary Englishman who might hope to profit by this perquisite. How the complication was concluded is not known, but it is certain that La Baye did not go as a concession to any one person or corporation.

All along the river shore French Canadians came in and took up claims, just



a narrow strip of land running to the water's edge where lay the bark canoe of the owner. Houses were for the most part built of logs with bark covered roof, and were chinked with mud so that they were warm and snug.

Fine gardens were the property of every habitant, filled with all sorts of succulent vegetables and melons of large size and delicious flavor. In every direction stretched wide fields of Indian corn, for succotash was a favorite Indian dish even in the days of Baron La Hontan, and corn and dried peas the backbone of the Canadian voyageur's larder. These great corn fields were many of them tilled in common so that the whole settlement might have sufficient food, and thus "the commons" which at an early day occupied much space in Green Bay and vicinity, showed in their even furrows traces of primitive and extensive corn fields, dating back to still earlier occupants of the land, the Indians.

Over this Acadian life *Sieur Charles de Langlade* (the *de* being added during his military exploits in Mackinac) exercised patriarchal sway. From the period of taking up his residence at "Baye Verte" as the place was now called, all disturbance from the surrounding Indians ceased entirely. Langlade, as well-trained and tactful in Indian diplomacy as was *Nicholas Perrot* of a century before, commanded alike the respect of French, English and savage.

Still another pen picture of La Baye as it appeared in 1766, three years after the June day that *James Gorrell* and his command evacuated Fort Edward Augustus, is the description given by *Jonathan Carver*, a keen faced periwigged traveller and trader, who in pursuance of a large grant of land supposedly due him, reached the southwest terminus of Green Bay in September of that year. Arriving on the 18th at fort La Baye he reports the buildings much dilapidated, not having been garrisoned since *Gorrell's* departure three years previous. A few families were living in the fort, on the west side of Fox river, while on the east side were considerable farms.

The Langlade establishment comprising quite a group of dwellings for the immediate family, wide connections, and large trading house occupied an expensive tract of land on the east side of the river, between the present streets of Crooks and Stuart. To the river colony came in 1773, *Pierre Grignon*, a well born, educated Frenchman who later married *Charles de Langlade's* only daughter, *Domitelle*. Tradition places the home of Langlade at the foot of Doty street, and close to the river, while *Pierre Grignon's* spacious dwelling is known to have stood at the intersection of Stuart and Washington streets. The description of this old house as given by *John W. Arndt*, depicts it as most interesting: "The roof was very steep, covered with cedar bark, of which there was many layers, showing that it had been frequently repaired without removing the old bark, which was now nearly six inches thick.

"The upper floor was supported by heavy beams, 12x14 inches, crossing the building east and west, four feet apart and dressed with an inch bead worked on the lower corners. The floors were all made of two-inch pine plank, dressed, plowed and grooved. All the partitions were dressed in the same way, but on both sides. There were two chimneys, one on each gable, built of limestone and flush with the outside timbers, showing the stone from top to base. The fireplaces were high and broad, projecting well into the room and would easily take in a four-foot log.

"In the large front room was one of these fireplaces, also two triangular

closets, one in the northeast, and the other in the southwest corner of the room. They were made of pine, each had four doors, two below and two above. The two upper doors of each closet were ornamented with a carving in demi-relief representing the royal insignia of France, the fleur des lis."

At the outbreak of the Revolutionary war Langlade was induced to enter the British service, and this acquisition Captain De Peyster, at that time commandant of the fort at Michilimackinac declared equivalent to enlisting all the western tribes in that interest. These were exciting times at Baye Verte, for large bands of Indians collected by Captain Langlade and his nephew Gautier de Verville, rendezvoused at the little French village before passing on eastward and with pow-wows and war dances made hideous revel in the place.

It was previous to the war of the Revolution that Peter Pond, a British trader gives a detailed account of a trip westward in the interests of commerce. He tells of the immense delay and labor necessary in bringing a cargo of goods in 1773 from Canada to Michilimackinac, where still another readjustment was made in preparation for carrying several canoes across Lake Michigan to Green Bay. Pond's narrative is the first in which the English "Green Bay" is used instead of La Baye or Baye Verte for the small French village on Fox river. Here the traveller encamped for two days and finds the land excellent. "The inhabitants raising fine corn and other staples in their gardens. They have too another resource, the quantities of wild rice which in September they use for food. The French also raise fine black cattle and horses, with some swine." There was some trade, Pond reports, with the Indians, and the Menominees are the only tribe mentioned as having a village on the north part of the bay, and living by the game which was plentiful.

The Menominee chief, Chawanon "Grand Chief of the Folle Avoines" in consideration of his fidelity, zeal and attachment to the king's government during the War of the Revolution, was given the "Great Medal" by the English government with the command that all the Indians should obey him as Grand Chief, and all officers in his majesty's service were to treat him accordingly. The medal was bestowed on the 17th day of August, 1778, when the chief formed one of the band of allies who followed Langlade to Montreal and the document is officially signed and sealed by Frederick Haldimand, Captain-General and Governor-in-chief of the province of Quebec.

Chakachokama was the Indian name of this famous Menominee, "the old King" as he was called by the French habitants. "Old King's village," the cluster of Indian lodges which lay a half mile south of the fort on the west side of the river, appears as late as 1820, in descriptions of government lands. The abbreviation of Chakachokama's name, Chawanon, is perpetuated today in Shawano, county and town. The old king was of great assistance to Langlade, who in the fall of 1778, was at Green Bay trying to keep the nations well disposed until new orders should be received from the seat of war.

It was to stir up the Indians against the conquering George Rogers Clark who was sweeping everything before him in the Illinois country and had captured Prairie du Chien, that De Peyster called a great council of the tribes at L'Arbre Croche in 1779. A messenger was sent to the Indians of Milwaukee but was met by cold indifference, then Verville essayed to rouse their enthusiasm but was treated with insolent ridicule, "Those runagates of Milwaukie," De

Peyster calls them, "a horrid set of refractory Indians." Finally Charles de Langlade himself went to them and finding every appeal unavailing drew upon his knowledge of Indian superstition and caused a lodge to be built in the village center where a dog feast, dear to the Indian heart was prepared. A piece of dog's heart raw and bleeding was suspended at the door of the lodge and when the feast was over Langlade chanting a war song marched around the booth, biting, each time he passed the doorway, a piece from the raw heart. This irresistible appeal to all brave hearts among his guests brought one warrior after another to his feet, and soon all had joined in the march and song, had tasted of the dog's heart and were irrevocably pledged to follow their leader.

A version of De Peyster's speech to the western Indians at this same great council held at L'Arbre Croche, July 4, 1779, was in later years rendered into verse by that officer, and is seasoned with many allusions to prominent military leaders and chiefs engaged in the war. In his poetical review the Winnebagoes are said to:

"Skulk in dens, lest old Langlade
Should give their heads the batonade;
These suck their paws, like Northern bears,
Exposing nothing but their ears,
To hear if Gautier de Verville
Doth crave assistance from Lafeuille."

Although constantly demanding aid from Langlade and Verville the British leaders, De Peyster and Sinclair fretted and grumbled over the slow methods employed by the French creoles in their military operations. The Winnebagoes and Menominees were, De Peyster declares, naturally more brave than the Ottawas, and were therefore especially desired as allies, but the English captains could hardly realize that in order to enlist their interest and aid only the dilatory Indian method of negotiation used by the experienced Langlade would be successful. They ignored too the fact that with the American cause went French sympathy and that Langlade and Verville in standing by the English arms must overcome among their followers national prejudice as well.

In his L'Arbre Croche speech De Peyster touches off the Menominee Indians and the plenty which they enjoyed on the shores of Green Bay, from the fertility of the land and the large quantities of fish and game,

"While none on earth live more at ease,
Than Carong's brave Menominees."

This same Carron, the half-breed interpreter for the old king Chakauchakama, was given in the days of Gorrell a handsome embroidered coat by Edward Moran, the trader, which partiality enraged the other Indians to the danger point. Carron's wife was the sister of Waupesin, the "Wild Potato," a prominent Menominee, and it was to him that the messengers from Pontiac gave the red wampum belt, thus inviting his tribe to assist in that conspiracy. As the bay Indians were loyal to Gorrell they resented the presentation of so highly esteemed a gift as an embroidered coat to any of the Wild Potato's kin, although Carron was a true friend to the English and was moreover "the handsomest man in the Indian village."

The only known autograph in existence of the Sieur Charles de Langlade is a letter written by him to Rocheblave and Porlier, a well known trading firm

which operated between Michilimackinac and La Baye. The communication is in regard to the sale of lands owned by him, through which he hoped to satisfy a debt of six thousand one hundred and eighty-three livres. It is a dignified, well-written letter and shows Langlade to have been an educated man, as well as a brave soldier.

Aukewingeketauso, "a military conqueror," was the name bestowed by his Indian followers on the Green Bay hero. Even as late as October, 1800, when seventy-one years old, Langlade was dreaded by the Spaniards of Louisiana as possibly contemplating an attack on New Orleans with his bands of loyal Indians, who never seemed to have questioned his authority. The Marquis de Casa Calvo writing from New Orleans at this date speaks of Langlade as "the famous interpreter and leader Captain Langlade." His grandson Augustin Grignon relates that he died in the first years of the nineteenth century and was buried in the old Roman Catholic cemetery at Green Bay, which lay just north of the intersection of Adams and Chicago streets.

WAR OF 1812

England formally yielded to the United States possession of the western country and withdrew her garrisons in 1796, yet the settlement along Fox river extending from the ruins of the old French and English fort to the rapids at Little Kakalin recognized no other government. The fur trade was the great interest commercially, foremost in this traffic being Jacob Franks, his nephew John Lawe, Louis and Pierre Grignon, and Jacques Porlier. The settlement was a flourishing one "grist, saw, horse mills and distilleries, abounding with cattle and horses and some hogs" (W. H. C., Vol. 18, p. 438). The landscape is described as most beautiful and interesting, the soil fertile as that of Kentucky, growing "garden productions of great size." No gayer settlement could be found west of Montreal. The people, who are characterized as "indolent, gay and intemperate," lived in comfort on their little farms, all doing a bit of trade with the Indians, for peltries were still plentiful, and securing in addition all the game and fish needed for their tables. Of the prominent families each had its following of Indian retainers who fished and hunted for them and brought in the spring quantities of most excellent maple sugar done up in bark mococks.

On November 26, 1803, Governor Harrison of Indiana Territory drew a commission appointing Charles Reaume as justice of the peace at Green Bay. Reaume, who had been a resident of the place for eleven years and owned a farm on La Rivière Glaise, now called Dutchman's Creek, assumed his judicial duties with much zeal, acquired a copy of Blackstone, as he was quite unlearned in the law, and on this and the customs of the country based his legal decisions.

To judge from the many papers signed in his handwriting this sole representative of justice west of Lake Michigan was kept busy with his varied and responsible duties. There was no priest resident in Baye Verte at that time so Reaume christened the children, married the young people and gave excellent satisfaction in adjudicating disputes between rival traders or their engagés. His old horn jackknife was displayed by the constable in place of a warrant,



Capt. JONATHAN CARVER.

From the Original Picture in the possession of H. Lettice M.D.

Published as the Act directs by R. Stewart, N.º 287. near St. Turners to Holborn Nov: 16 1780.



and as the county town of Vincennes was distant four or five hundred miles his rule was absolute, and his decisions supreme.

Reaume is described by a contemporary as appearing at all public occasions in a scarlet coat with facings of white silk and spangled buttons. His exercise of authority seems to have been tacitly acquiesced in by all, and although not read in the law his accurate knowledge of conditions in this part of the country was to be relied on and rendered his judiciary doubtless of some value (H. S. Baird, Vol. 2, p. 87).

By the provisions of a law enacted by congress in 1802 trading licenses were to be granted to citizens of the United States and to no others, but the traders at La Baye independent of these restrictions, recognized no authority but that of Great Britain, and the advent in the autumn of great canoes loaded with merchandise from Montreal was the event of the year. The inhabitants would gather on the sandy point below Langlade's house, to watch the trader's fleet sweep in from the bay. Amidships sat the manager of the expedition, the "bourgeoise" whose word was law, while the crew formed in their gay toggery a bit of vivid color to be seen from a long distance away. The paddles handled by these experts struck the water in sharp and perfect time to the song that rose and fell, choruses endless in repetition, and reciting most trivial incidents; the music to which this French doggerel was set, would charm the listener with its wild, thrilling cadences, and make the tears start. It was one of these voyageur songs that caught the ear of Thomas Moore on his visit to Canada, and inspired his "Canadian boat song" with its refrain,

"Row, brothers, row: the stream runs fast,
The rapids are near, and the daylight is past."

John Jacob Astor and his Southwest Company had early in the century begun trading operations in Green Bay. The Astor Company dovetailed into the customs of La Baye as though to the manner born. Ramsay Crooks, Wilson P. Hunt and Robert Stuart were veterans along fur-trading lines, and were hand-in-glove with John Lawe, the extensive Grignon connection and Jacques Porlier. Crooks, Astor's agent, was in constant and friendly correspondence with these leading men in the commerce of the Bay, giving advice or advancing money whenever required. A letter from Montreal (p. 336) 1810 says that the whole Indian trade is carried on by Americans. "Mr. Astore offered to purchase out the Machenau Company. He has a charter from Congress to an exclusive right to the Indian trade, and I understand that he is to be connected with the North West Company to make settlement of the Northwest coast of America." Before this letter reached its destination the adventurous founders of Astoria were already on their way to the Pacific coast. One party including Ramsay Crooks and Wilson P. Hunt stopped at the fur-trading depot at La Baye on its way across the continent; another went by sailing vessel around Cape Horn, among these Gabriel Franchère, whose narrative published later, inspired Washington Irving's "Astoria."

Diplomatic relations were strained between the United States and England and commerce both on the ocean and the great lakes was much disturbed. The non-transportation act barring trade between the two nations was passed by congress, March 2, 1811, but Batteaux continued to bring goods for the Green

Bay fur traders, sometimes complying with the law, at others running the blockade at Michilimackinac, by passing that government station at night.

War was declared on June 18, 1812, and just one month later a British force of 1,000 whites and Indians from Fort St. Josephs secretly effected a landing on the northwest shore of Mackinac Island, known today as "British Landing." The American garrison finding itself at the mercy of the invaders promptly surrendered, this being the first intimation the fort's commander had received that hostilities had definitely commenced between the two nations.

Colonel Robert Dickson who in October, 1812, took charge of the Green Bay country for King George the Fourth, was an official well liked by the trading community on jovial occasions when he was the life of the party, but who became fussy and irascible under responsibility. The king's vessel ran aground just as the colonel was about to embark on her for his post at Baye Verte and delayed to exasperation his departure. His destination finally reached, the British officer was kept in a constant state of ferment between the failure of his government to supply him with articles necessary to hold the allegiance of his Indian dependants and the strenuous daily effort required to get sufficient food and ammunition from the little village of Baye Verte.

By the king's orders all supplies and provisions needed for the soldiers encamped at the bay post, the garrison at Mackinac and for Colonel Dickson, who had set up royalist quarters on Garlic Island, Lake Winnebago, were to be furnished by the unfortunate inhabitants of the hamlet at the mouth of Fox river. Dickson's letters to the suave French gentlemen with whom he dealt are peremptory to the point of a dictatorial order. His subordinate officers at Green Bay were:

Jacques Porlier, senior, captain of militia and commissary.

Jacques Porlier, junior, lieutenant of the Indian department.

Pierre Grignon, captain of the Indian department.

Louis Grignon, lieutenant of the Indian department.

John Lawe, lieutenant.

Jacob Franks, captain and commissary, and so on through a rather lengthy list of Green Bay fur traders.

Young Jacques Porlier had just returned from school at Montreal when the war broke out and he entered with enthusiasm into the British ranks, serving with great credit as a lieutenant in the Michigan Fencibles and being later recommended by Captain Bulger of his majesty's troops as an ensign in the regular line.

Lawe, the Porliers and Grignons did all in their power to aid Dickson in his sorry plight, but the resources of the village were absolutely inadequate for a large body of men; the Creoles cached their wild rice and other grains and refused to sell for the paltry sum offered by the king's officers, for with the English government, as Louis Grignon writes at this time there was "always lack of money, lack of money."

On December 19, 1812, Captain Pullman with a small detachment of regulars and a hit and miss band of lawless Canadian voyageurs, called the Michigan Fencibles, was despatched by Dickson to Green Bay, where they barracked in a vacant house on the west side of Fox river, possibly one of the buildings remaining of old Fort Edward Augustus. Of the Michigan Fencibles Cap-

tain Bulger wrote later: "The Michigans are not the soldiers we ought to have here if we mean to retain the post. I would rather have 40 regular soldiers than 100 such men as the Michigans. The Indians too see the difference between them and Regulars. They in fact look upon them with contempt, having known them as voyageurs, they never can look upon them in the light of British soldiers."

The troops levied mercilessly upon the impoverished settlement, until the forty or more families residing there were reduced to actual want. "You must do the best you can to feed them," writes Dickson to John Lawe. "If your provision fails and the people refuse to sell, seize what is necessary in the king's name. I would by no means wish to proceed to extremities, but his Majesty's soldiers must be furnished with provisions." In addition to Lieutenant Pullman's garrison the great bands of half starved Indians made constant raids on the village, carrying off horses, hogs and oxen. The herds of fine black cattle which Jonathan Carver admired so much were slaughtered without mercy and the plentiful fields of maize stripped of their grain.

A mill built by Pierre Grignon on Dutelman's Creek in Ashwaubenon was claimed by Dickson as king's property. "There must no Toll be paid at the mill. I will account to you for it and be so good as to tell Rabbis (Gabriel Rabbi), that he must not cheat the King, although he may cheat all the rest of the World, which I am convinced he does. If Masca will sell his Wheat without any further Stipulation at Three dollars a Bushel, take it; if not, we shall keep our Eye on it when Hunger shall make us keen." "Masca," the miller, whose real name was Dominique Brunette, was a well known French Creole at Baye Verte and he and his son, Dominique, were among those who thirty years later organized the "Town of Howard," and who became town officials.

On November 13, 1813, Dickson wrote to Grignon and Lawe that he had been directed by Captain Bullock, the commandant at Michilimackinac "to procure Beef, Flour and Pease for his garrison from La Baye. You will therefore deliver Sergeant McGalpin what you can collect, taking his receipt for the same. The price agreed for with you is what is given for the same kinds of provisions at Michilimackinac. You will please furnish the Detachment of Michigan Fencibles with Provisions while at La Baye and for their route to Mackinac, sending in an account of the same and also what else may be necessary for their voyage."

Later he writes, "The Indians are hurrying me and I want to get quit of them. Dire necessity compels me to send to you for Ten Bushels Wheat. The Indians are all starving."

In reviewing this period the amount of food raised in the poverty-stricken little village of La Baye appears astonishing. Despite the devastation committed by the starving Indians and the provisioning of Pullman's garrison, the commissary department consisting of John Lawe and Louis Grignon furnished in addition supplies sufficient to keep Dickson and his Indians alive and to send moreover to Mackinac thirty barrels of flour beside unground wheat. "Give the soldiers wheat and let them grind it with a hand mill," ordered Dickson from his lake fastness.

The winter wore away and spring again shone over bay and river. By the last of March ducks began to fly in great abundance and the sturgeon were

plentiful from Lake Winnebago to Green Bay. On March 19, 1814, Dickson, always picturesque and pungent in language, wrote, "The season is advancing fast. This last fall of snow will accelerate the breaking up of the rivers. No news yet from the Mississippi. The express from Mackinac is late, but I trust that we shall have good news when it comes"; and in a postscript, "Had I not received the supply of wheat you sent I believe one-half of the Indians would have perished. I have been obliged to feed the people forty miles around me and have had other visitors in abundance. I am now looking out for ducks and the poissons dorr. We have not seen a sturgeon's Snout these ten days. The Bull is almost devoured, I shall send for no more Beef happen what will. Hunger is staring us in the face, but Providence will not abandon us. . . . I am heartily tired of this kind of Life—anything for a Change. No news from the Prairie. Curse on their Negligence if no Accident has happened."

On June 28, Dickson was in Michilimackinac and remained there during the principal event of the year for the western country; the organizing of a force of whites and Indians to capture the American fort at Prairie du Chien. The motley troop under command of Colonel William McKay reached La Baye on July fourth. Here the force was augmented by all the able-bodied men of the hamlet, or as a report of the expedition expresses it; "Captain Pierre Grignon led all the inhabitants of La Baye," while young Jacques Porlier went as lieutenant with the Michigan Pencibles. The band was more than doubled by the reinforcement of French, Winnebagoes and Sauks who joined the detachment at the Fox River settlement. "I believe that the expedition you have joined will succeed without the necessity of fighting; it seems to me that the number of savages ought to be sufficient to chase the enemy or at least divide them and make them yield," wrote the Indian agent at Mackinac to Jacques Porlier, on July fourteenth, and this prediction proved substantially true, the fort surrendering after some warlike skirmishing on July 17, 1814.

This martial invasion which took from the Green Bay settlement during the harvest season some thirty men did much damage, little grain was gathered and Louis Grignon wrote in September to friends at Mackinac that the country was much devastated, cattle and Indians had done infinite damage to the crops and the wheat was completely ruined in the fields.

On the thirteenth of November of that year Captain Bulger, of the Royal Newfoundland regiment, after a tempestuous passage from Mackinac landed at La Baye, where he held by instructions from the English government a court of inquiry as to the losses sustained by the inhabitants of Green Bay from depredations committed on their property by the Indians. The court consisted of Captain Bulger, president; Robert Dickson, Esquire, agent and superintendent of the western Indians, and Captain Duncan Graham of the Indian department. The result of the inquiry showed that the total amount of losses in cattle, etc., was something over 2,981 pounds. There turning a report of proceedings to Colonel McDouall at Mackinac, the court recommends that reparation be made to the impoverished inhabitants and declares that "the valuation has been affixed by a committee appointed for that purpose by the court and is deemed fair." Bulger later writes that he has "reason to believe that the enormous sum is not exaggerated." His account of the Green Bay settlement is most deplorable; he gives a truthful statement of the pov-

erty-stricken condition of the hamlet and of the serious devastation caused by the great bands of Indians, who roamed the surrounding country. "A vast concourse were assembled when I arrived . . . really a most distressing sight; men, women and children, naked and in a state of starvation. Many of them had been from home all the summer fighting for us. Even those brave fellows, the Follesavoincs, who behaved so nobly on the 4th of August, were starving before my eyes, and I had not the means of relieving them."

It is a tragic incident in Brown county's history, the War of 1812, a story of starvation and keen suffering. Peace between the two great nations was concluded at Ghent in December, 1814, but not until the month of May following was the news brought to the inhabitants of far off Baye Verte. Orders were received to hand Fort McKay over to the Americans much to the surprised disgust of the commanding officer at Mackinac, Colonel McDouall, who wrote to the fort's commandant, Captain Bulger, that the utmost caution and vigilance must be observed when the fort was evacuated; and on his march to Green Bay, he must "have a light two-pounder mounted in one of the boats and always ready for service," lest the sudden change of governments should be resisted by the Indians. A gaunt and hunger depleted swarm of Indians gathered to receive the parting gifts presented by the conscientious Bulger and at La Baye there was barely grain enough left from English occupation to sow sparingly the fields.

(References used in Chapter VIII; Wis. Hist. Colls., Vols. 1, 11, 18, 19; Neville & Martin, Historic Green Bay; Arndt, Green Bay and Fox River Valley.)

CHAPTER IX

AMERICAN OCCUPATION

Notwithstanding the crucial experiences of the Fox river valley inhabitants both whites and Indians, during the three years' war between England and the United States, public sentiment and sympathy at La Baye went with the conquered rather than the conqueror. The bluff, irritable Dickson and the just, outspoken Bulger were both thoroughly liked by, and good friends of, the western traders. The latter dreaded a change to a government of whose policy they were ignorant. Healths still went around the convivial board in the village of Baye Verte to "the King, the Prince Regent and Sir George Provost," and it was predicted that the Americans would have a dangerous time in replacing officers armed with authority of "the King and the best of governments" by a provincial and less experienced corps of officials.

On February 14, 1815, the wary fur trader John Jacob Astor wrote jocosely to his favorite factotum, Ramsay Crooks, "You will have heard of the word of peace; this will not lessen the value of muskrat skins. I wish that you could sell them all, and come on here (New York), as I shall probably engage in the Indian trade." This pleasantry was promptly followed, after the official notification of the conclusion of peace, by the reorganization of the Southwest Company under the name of the American Fur Company with Astor at the head. The commerce in furs, still a lucrative traffic in the northwest, immediately engrossed the attention of departmental officials in Washington, and Alexander J. Dallas, acting secretary of war, recommended to the president, James Madison, that an Indian agency be established without delay on "the Fox River in the neighborhood of Green Bay, as the menaces of the Indians throughout the Indian country require immediate attention." It was further stipulated that the Indian agent should receive as a full compensation for his services a salary of one thousand dollars payable quarterly, with an allowance of six rations per diem, or an equivalent in money according to the price of provisions at the nearest military post.

Of the Indians in the vicinity of the bay at that period the most numerous were the Menominees, who had villages not only near the French settlement of Baye Verte but also along the bay shore as far as their river, the Menominee. Next to them in point of numbers came the Winnebagoes, with their largest village on Doty island, the Pottawatomies or Poux, as they were nicknamed, a scattering of Outagamies and a few Sauks. The Indian agent first appointed by Secretary Dallas was Charles Jouett, in charge at that time of the same department at Chicago, but this appointment was later changed and the "very eligible" agency at Green Bay given to Colonel John Bowyer, then holding a like position at Detroit.

In the meantime it was decided that in order to supply the demands of the large body of Indians in the vicinity of the Fox river waterway a government fur-trading factory should be established, and Major Matthew Irwin, a United States official who had gained some experience in the trade of furs, was assigned to the Green Bay post.

The letter of July 28, 1815, informing Major Irwin of his appointment remarks that as he had expressed a preference some time before for the position at Green Bay rather than Chicago, he might proceed to that place immediately on the receipt of the order, the salary fixed to be \$1,000 per annum, and allowance for subsistence money, \$365. Later, however, it was deemed best that the factor should not undertake to carry his goods, which were valued at \$9,452.34, into the dangerous wilds surrounding Green Bay without military protection and Major Irwin was ordered to remain at Mackinac until the following year when a fort would be established at the entrance to Fox river.

In consequence the first official representing the new government to arrive was Colonel Bowyer, who reached his post in the early summer of 1816. Later he purchased the property belonging to Judge Charles Reaume on la Riviere Glaise, Dutchman's creek, as the stream was called in later years, a name bestowed after Peter Ulrich, "the Dutchman," built a house upon its shore. Colonel Bowyer identified himself almost immediately with the life of the little river hamlet and was popular alike with the French residents and the Indians. There is still preserved a courteous note asking him to dine at Mr. Louis Grignon's and his letters indicate a friendly spirit existing between the traders and himself.

Not so Matthew Irwin. From the first the factor's position was a difficult one. The resident traders were bitterly opposed to a trading post operated by government; possibly the experience gained by their fathers during French domination had prejudiced them against this mode of Indian traffic; they feared too that the large stock of goods sent by the government might prove disastrous to other peltry merchants. Their fears were groundless, for as employees of the American Fur Company and possessing wide experience in trading methods and in maintaining friendly relations with the Indians they simply barred out competition.

Major Irwin seems to have worried greatly over his failure to make good as an agent of the government, and the commissioner of Indian affairs, McKenny, while recognizing the difficulties and annoyances to be faced by the Green Bay factor chafed under the meager and disappointing reports received from this important post.

Astor's monopoly received much blame and abuse from disgruntled outsiders. On June 20, 1816, William Henry Putchoff, Indian agent at Mackinac, wrote to his excellency, Lewis Cass, who had been appointed governor of the entire western territory. "Mr. Astor expresses surprise and regret at the passage of a law forbidding British subjects from trading with the Indians within the American limits, but observes that power is vested in the president to grant special licenses to that purpose." The letter proceeds to inform Governor Cass that a messenger has been dispatched to President Madison by John Jacob Astor asking that licenses be given to Jacob Franks and other of Astor's special friends in order that they may continue trading operations with the

Indians at Green Bay. "I hope in God," he adds, "no such license will be granted."

John Jacob Astor, "The old Tyger" as he was called in familiar trading house parlance, had resumed his commerce in furs on a much larger scale than before the war and the American Fur Company had gathered within its grasp not only the entire western country but also Canadian territory. Astor's prime agent was Ramsay Crooks and this tactful, experienced trader gradually gained boundless influence over the French Creoles in Green Bay and its vicinity.

In comparison with this fur-trading Solon the attempt of Major Irwin to run a rival business was mere absurdity. According to gossip of the time the United States factor did not secure during his incumbency of seven years fifty dollars' worth of peltries, although the Indians brought him maple sugar in prodigious quantities, which he always bought, and which proved an unprofitable investment. Ramsay Crooks gave his views before an investigating committee as to the failure of the factory system at Green Bay and said that it was largely due to the fact that goods unsuitable to the Indian were provided. "Unless your committee should be of the opinion that men's and women's coarse and fine shoes, worsted and cotton hose, tea, Glauber salts, alum and anti-bilious pills are necessary to promote the comfort or restore the health of the aborigines; or that green silk fancy ribands and morocco slippers are indispensable to eke out the dress of our 'red sisters.'"

The prospective establishment of a permanent military post on Fox river was the occasion of much interest throughout the entire country, for it meant that the United States intended to definitely put a stop to English interference both in trade and government. British emissaries were still constantly creating doubt and suspicion among the Indians and it was feared that chiefs such as the great Tomah, head of the Menominee nation, who had received a war medal and other marks of distinction from the English government, would not easily resign these in order to curry favor with the American interlopers.

With the idea that resistance might be expected from the Indians, Colonel John Miller, commandant at Mackinac, ordered two companies of infantry and a detachment of artillery from that post "to cover the landing and aid in securing the encampment of the troops destined to garrison in Green Bay." Miller undertook the command of the expedition in person and early in July, 1816, orders to embark were received.

The fleet consisting of three schooners, the "Washington," "Wayne," "Mink," and a sloop, the "Amelia," sailed from Mackinac on the twenty-sixth of July. There were on board, Colonel Miller of the third regiment, Colonel Chambers of the Rifles, Major Gratiot of the Engineers, a detachment of artillery under Captain Pierce and four companies of the third infantry amounting in all to five hundred men. On the twenty-ninth of the month the transports with the whole command were lying off the mouth of Green Bay at anchor, light and contrary winds having delayed their passage. The Washington, which carried the officers, put into the sheltered harbor of a large, well-wooded island just at the entrance of the bay. Not knowing that they were treading on the ancient camping ground of the Pottawatomies the American officers christened the island "Washington" in commemoration of their flagship as well as the Father of his country.

As the fleet sailed up the bay another large island was sighted and to this they gave the name of the new commandant appointed to the Green Bay post, Colonel Talbot Chambers.

Augustin Grignon, who chanced to be in Mackinac when the troops set sail, was pressed into the service of pilot on the *Washington*, the bay being an unknown and treacherous course to the American navigators and on either the seventh or eighth of August, contemporaries differing as to the day, the convoy entered the mouth of Fox river.

It was a martial and imposing debarkation; the four vessels, the largest heretofore seen on these waters and flying the American colors; the uniformed men descending into the small boats in military order; the cannon showing their black muzzles above the bulwarks and on the shore the entire settlement assembled, French and Indians watching the spectacle with the greatest excitement and interest. It had been reported that eight hundred Indian warriors were under arms ready to oppose the American invasion, hence Colonel Miller's precaution in providing additional detachments from the Mackinac garrison, but there was no hostile feeling apparent and the few Indians in evidence welcomed the new comers with much humility and friendship.

Major Gratiot immediately made a survey to fix the site for the new fort, finally deciding to build where could still be seen the ruins of the English fortification which superseded that of the French. It was decided that a high stockade with strong pickets should be erected with a bastion at each angle mounted by a piece of artillery amply sufficient it was believed to beat off any Indian force that could be brought against it. The site having been definitely located, Colonel Miller returned without delay to Mackinac, leaving Colonel Chambers in command and a garrison consisting of two companies of riflemen and the same of infantry.

At "old King's village," about half a mile above the fort, Chakauchakama, the Menominee king, was still living at a great age. As he was nearly blind and very feeble he was represented by Tomah, a fine looking, dignified young chief who spoke for the Menominees in the interview which took place with Colonel Miller. A member of the expedition, Dr. Henning, in speaking of these first days of American occupation says that the Winnebagoes were decidedly opposed to the advent of the American troops, as were a part of the Menominees and that it was only the impression of force produced by the invasion of so large a number of armed men that kept them in subjection for the time being. He predicts, however, that a day of reckoning is at hand and adds that mutterings of the impending storm can already be heard.

Colonel Bowyer also found the Winnebagoes hostile to the coming of a military force among them, but after two or three talks with their chiefs the agent sent them off apparently satisfied. He busied himself with calling in all medals presented by the British while in command, and replaced them by those of the United States. Hardly a chief but had his handsome silver medal, which was hung suspended by a cord around his neck, in token that henceforth he would fight the battles of the nation that bestowed the decoration. There was also a great demand for arm bands and small flags.

The fort buildings were erected by the soldiers, although it is noted by a rival trader at the time that Louis Grignon will probably receive the contract

for getting out the necessary timber. The work was done with a whip saw and an order issued by the government to the factor. Major Irwin instructs him to have suitable factory buildings constructed just outside the stockade by the soldiers and to give them in payment ten cents and a gill of whiskey per day. The commandant was urged to cooperate with the factory in placating the Indians and in persuading them not to sell their peltries to British traders.

In the American state papers is to be found the record of the amount appropriated by government for the erection of a fortification on Fox river, \$21,000, and the amount expended, \$20,477.60. On the fort was bestowed the name of Howard, in memory of General Benjamin Howard of the United States army, a gallant officer who was in command of the western territory during the War of 1812, but who died before peace was concluded.

Major Gratiot remained at Green Bay only long enough to see the fort buildings well under way, leaving the superintendence of the work and its completion to the commandant and Lewis Morgan, United States agent of fortifications. In 1820 the government caused a sawmill to be erected at the Little Kakalin (Little Rapids), and from the lumber there sawed the later buildings of the fort were put up; the large house for the commanding officer, the warehouse, the hospital, and surgeon's quarters. They were comfortable and well built dwellings, with a broad hall running through the center, and spacious rooms opening from this on both sides. The officers' quarters were a story and a half in height, with wide dormer windows in the roof; the barracks for the men seem to have been of plainer and more practical construction, with two full stories and ample accommodations.

Green Bay is described at this time as containing from forty-five to forty-eight families, all openly professing to be subjects of Great Britain, and ruled by from ten to twelve traders, who lived in patriarchal comfort, were all in league with the American Fur Company, and included the names of Grignon, Lawe, and Porlier with their extensive connections. Times had become much more prosperous, and the want caused by the war was being rapidly replaced by plenty.

In October, 1816, the difficulties of Major Irwin were increased by having the rifle corps at the fort plunder his stores and application was made to the commandant to have the theft made good by his order. There was delay too in the erection of a factory building, also an agency house for the use of Colonel Bowyer. That gentleman, although described as all that could be desired in ability and tactful treatment of the Indians was far from pleased with Judge Reaume's old house into which he had moved on his first arrival. "No better than a hovel," he pronounced it, and calls for a residence more fitting his position as a government official: "Five hundred dollars per annum for house rent . . . five dollars per cord for wood, the price established by the troops for fuel," made his establishment difficult to maintain on \$5,000 a year. Colonel Talbot Chambers is described by one of the traders as "violent and exacting, but just and sociable," and Major Irwin as a gentleman, although not a success in the fur trade (Vol. 19, p. 447, Jacques Porlier).

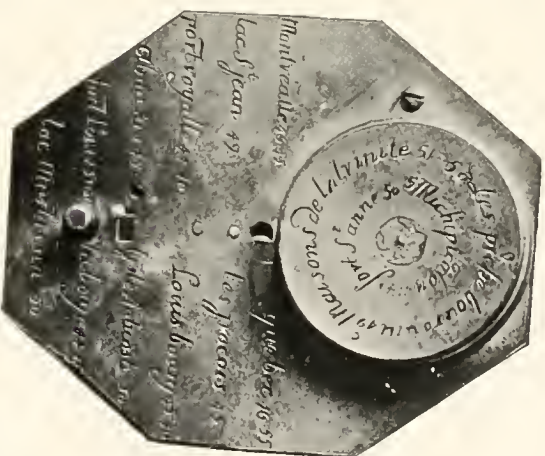
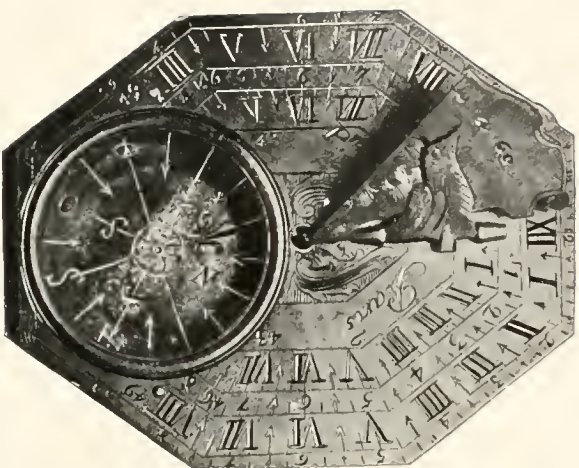
In May, 1817, Colonel Chambers was transferred to Prairie du Chien, and his letters from that post illuminate the fur-trading situation, especially at Green Bay. The confidential correspondence of the American officer shows

him to have been in league with the British sympathizers, and that far from aiding his own government in the attempt to gain the loyalty and trade of the Indians he was in reality abetting the rival faction in order to favor his good friends, Jacob Franks, John Lawe and others. "You may certainly calculate," he writes, "on every exertion which I can make for you. The commanding officer here has a great deal in his power; it shall be exerted to the utmost in your behalf, but keep everything which I write you *quiet*." This, while Major Irwin at Green Bay was writing in despair to the Indian department, "All the families here, except one, are British subjects, consisting of about fifty families. They were actively opposed to the United States, during the late war . . . whilst these and other British subjects are suffered to enter and continue in this country as traders it will be useless to continue this factory here," and so forth. Meantime Colonel Bowyer, the Indian agent, who was making excellent progress in conciliating the disaffected tribes and according to reports sent in by employees of the Astor company was absorbing the best of the peltry traffic, promptly expelled from the Green Bay league one of its most aggressive members, John Drew, a prominent Mackinac trader. Drew protested strongly against what he termed unjust partiality as the other British traders at Green Bay were not interfered with.

In the spring succeeding the arrival of the troops settlement was commenced on the bay shore eight miles below the fort, afterwards called Bay Settlement, and homesteaders on both sides of the river had taken up farms all the way through to Rapides des Pères. By the arrival of the Americans a home market was furnished for surplus products, for game and garden truck; vessels began to arrive with regularity bringing supplies to the garrison and the people experienced the advantages of lake commerce and navigation.

Already the lumber and milling industry destined to form such an important feature in Brown county's history began to compete with the fur trade and almost every prominent man among the early settlers owned milling interests. Among the most interesting records of early days are the Indian deeds to be found in the county register's office at Green Bay. Among these is one executed by the Menominee nation in favor of Jacob Franks in 1794, ceding land on la Rivière du Diable for a milling site, upon which, Franks, a few years later, erected the first mill to be found in the whole northwest territory.

The site of this old mill has been definitely located by the Green Bay Historical Society and is just east of De Pere, near what is now the north line of private claim number 34. This was a sawmill, but the year following its construction Franks put up a gristmill, two houses and a large quantity of fence on the same property. These buildings were erected it is said by an American named Bradley; the gristmill was one run of stones and is spoken of by Augustin Grignon as "a very serviceable mill." Later Franks sold his interest to his nephew, John Lawe, who continued to operate it to the satisfaction of the people disposing of it finally to William Dickenson. Lawe's mill, for more than a quarter of a century a well known landmark, appears on the first plat made of Brown county property, the one mapped by Isaac Lee, government land commissioner in 1820. In Mrs. Baird's reminiscences, "Life in Territorial Wisconsin," Lawe's mill is mentioned as being often in early times visited by gay sleighing parties and many merrymakings were held there.



COMBINED SUNDIAL AND COMPASS OF BRONZE, FOUND AT GREEN BAY

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
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Previous to the building of this first mill grinding was done entirely by hand mills with a double crank for two persons to turn and which held about half a bushel of grain. This style of portable machine was popular, as it could be easily carried in a canoe and the grinding process was more rapid than the Indian method of beating out the grain with a stone. During the War of 1812 Colonel Dickson ordered that the soldiers at La Baye grind their wheat with a hand mill and also requested John Lawe to send up one for his own use on Doty island.

Pierre Antoine Grignon, early in the nineteenth century, possibly 1804, put up a horse mill of about four horse power by which fifteen bushels of grain could be ground in one day. It was a slow and tedious process, and proving an expensive one, the mill was abandoned after a year's trial. Grignon a few years later experimented with a small mill on the slough which in those days cut east from Fox river and on which was situated the historic home of his father Pierre Grignon. The stones to run this primitive mill were made at Baye Verte and were only three feet in diameter.

The little stream or "Adams street slough," as it was designated in later years proving insufficient for practical purposes, the ambitious miller made another and much more successful attempt, obtained a good pair of stones from Mackinac and built both a grist and sawmill in 1810 on Reaum's Creek or the "Rivière Glaise," as it was commonly called. This was the mill made famous by Colonel Dickson during the War of 1812, and which seems to have been damaged permanently by the constant harrying demands made upon it by the irascible hunger driven Englishmen; possibly it was destroyed, for we hear nothing of it after the conclusion of the war except the general statement made by the army surgeon, Henning, in 1816. In speaking of the devastation of this vicinity by the war just concluded, he says, that previous to that period the people had grist and sawmills, distilleries and widely cultivated fields. One of the logs used in the foundation of Pierre Grignon's mill on Rivière Glaise was still to be seen only a few years ago extending out into the stream.

From the departure of Father Chardon in 1728, until 1825, one hundred years later, when Father Badin built the first church at Shantytown, there was no resident priest in Brown county. Religious instruction by a clergyman seems to have been suspended entirely throughout the territory traversed by the Jesuits so many years before. The French settlers along the shores of Fox River went by canoe load to Michilimackinac for the rite of baptism and sometimes for the marriage ceremony. It is said that the vicar general of the Roman Catholic church in the west made a visitation to Green Bay in the summer of 1821, saying mass for the devout among the residents in the house of Pierre Grignon, but no record remains to verify the supposition. There is also a tradition of a visiting priest and of a great cross raised on the west side of Fox river half way between Green Bay and De Pere, but there is not a single written line to support this story. We have instead the signature of Charles Reaume, "Juge à Paix" affixed to certain marriage certificates and the resident priest at Mackinac, Father Janon constantly records such data as the baptism of Marie Judith Lusignan, daughter of François Lusignan and Agathe Langlade, who say that they were married before two witnesses at Green Bay.

Sometimes there is a signed record of baptism privately performed by "Charley Reaume."

There is no mention of a chaplain at Fort Howard with the coming of the troops in 1816, nevertheless this record remains as evidence that religious rites were performed two years later.

"Green Bay, June 9th, 1818.

"I hereby certify that Elizabeth and Ursula, Daughters of Mr. Louis Grignon and Mrs. Catherine, were Baptized according to the Rubrick of the Church of England, the Ninth Day of June, one thousand eight hundred and eighteen by me.

"SAMUEL PETERS, LL.D., A. D. D. and Clerk in Holy Orders."

Samuel Andrew Peters who visited Green Bay in the early summer of 1818, was a clergyman of the Church of England, and a native of the United States, having been born in Hebron, Connecticut, December 12, 1735. He graduated at Yale college and was placed in charge of the churches of Hartford and Hebron.

Peters was a Tory and an active one, giving warm support to the royalist cause during the Revolutionary war. He was obliged finally to flee to England, where he revenged himself on his patriotic Puritan friends by publishing a book called "General History of Connecticut," which has been characterized by irate Federalists as the "most inscrupulous and malicious of lying narratives." In 1794 the Church of England priest was chosen bishop of Vermont, but was never consecrated, as he was still a resident of England. He, however, returned to America in 1805, and at the age of eighty-two made a journey to the falls of St. Anthony, claiming a large tract of land in that region. In the spring following, on his return trip to New York, he made his visit to Green Bay and baptized the little French children of the hamlet. Dr. Peters was without doubt a man of learning and wit, of good family and of repute in the church, but his royalist sympathies wrought his ruin financially, and as "Parson Peters" he was much caricatured in the pamphlet literature of the day.

Although the homes and trading houses of the early French and English settlers, the Grignons, Porliers and Lawes were built not more than a mile beyond the fort and the knot of habitant cottages closely fringed the river shore to within a stone's throw of the stockade, American settlement began in what is now the town of Allouez on the east side of the river and three miles from its mouth. No fairer site could have been chosen, for the ground was high, with open spaces in the woodland and the river unvexed by rapids at this point, swept on between its high banks a broad and tranquil stream.

Among the earliest and most highly respected of the American colonists was Robert Irwin, junior, who came from the east in 1817, and who was followed two years later by Daniel Whitney, the founder of the city of Green Bay. In 1822-23 Robert Irwin, senior, and his son, Alexander J. Irwin, prominent both in political and social life, joined their fortunes with the other Americans at the Bay, and in 1821 came Albert G. Ellis, eminent among the early educators of the state and later surveyor general of the territory of Wisconsin. It was fortunate that men of high character and sterling worth, all of whom were

active in promoting the best interests of Brown county, should have been instrumental in its early settlement.

There was no village bearing the name of Green Bay for many years subsequent, although "the bay" continued to be a designation for the settlements in its vicinity. In 1820, Colonel Joseph Lee Smith, commandant at Fort Howard, decided to move the cantonment to the high land midway between the mouth of the river and the Rapides des Pères, intending to erect stone fortifications, the stone to be quarried from the limestone ledge over which the rapids rushed. A detachment of troops was detailed to erect the buildings, which were placed on the high ground overlooking a wide stretch of country. Between the stockade and the river were built into the banks which rose quite steeply from the river's shore, a line of oddly constructed cabins, where all kinds of articles were sold for the convenience of the garrison. These curious dwellings with their stout door jambs and roofing of timber were situated all along the stretch of river bottom below the rising ground, and because of their lowly appearance and rough construction were called "shanties." From this grew the name of "Shantytown," a title dear to the hearts of the old residents of this fair and fertile slope.

When the first United States court convened in this initial American settlement in Wisconsin, Judge Doty bestirred himself to have a less plebian name bestowed upon the county seat of Brown. A plat was made of the hamlet and below in large letters was printed the name Menomineeville, but this perfectly suitable cognomen was never popular and plain Shantytown the place remained until, as township boundaries were defined, the village was included in Bellevue. Each year settlement grew along the shores of Fox river, among the pioneer colonists being Ebenezer Childs and the Dickenson brothers, Joseph and William, who settled at the De Pere rapids. In 1823, Henry S. Baird took up his residence at Shantytown, and that same year John P. Arndt, one of the prominent pioneers, bought a part of the Langlade estate and with his family located across the river from Fort Howard. According to the United States law for the government of land and naval service it was provided at that time that "no person who has been enlisted as a soldier shall be liable to arrest or imprisonment for any debt contracted by him during the term of his enlistment." During the first years of American occupation brawls were frequent between the soldiers from the garrison and the keepers of the small groceries where liquor could always be obtained, for the enlisted men not infrequently sold their uniform and accoutrements in order to obtain the coveted dram. The officers, exasperated by the action of the shop keepers in accepting the men's clothing in exchange for liquor and goods, would often take advantage of the existing law to aid the soldiers in evading the just payment of their debts. For the few closing days of his term of enlistment the debtor would be granted leave of absence so that if arrested before he left the post he could enter the plea of unexpired enlistment as a bar to detention. In those days it was lawful to arrest dishonest debtors and imprison them until they paid their debts or were otherwise discharged and the first jail in this part of the country was also a debtors' prison.

On the whole, however, the Americans both in civil and military life adapted themselves successfully to the oddities and lawlessness of the frontier post on Fox River, and as for the French Creoles, they were quite as suave and courteous

to the newcomers as ever they had been to the English, while the Indians found them as ready to buy furs and for as high a price as their former masters.

An inevitable consequence of the occupation of Brown county by a new government was the adjustment of claims made by the inhabitants to property occupied by them. Accordingly in August, 1820, Isaac Lee, a specially appointed government commissioner, reached the bay and the day following his arrival went from house to house as he reports, giving notice of his errand. The letter of instruction to Lee from the land commissioners at Detroit warned him of the difficulties of his mission, as it was feared "from the characteristic want of caution of the Canadian French as regards the preservation of their title deeds that most of their claims will be attempted to be supported by proving continued possession by means of affidavits."

Commissioner Lee performed his duties most satisfactorily not only to his employers but also to the majority of the Green Bay claimants, who recognized him as a kindly, painstaking man, desirous of seeing justice done. The map made from Lee's report of the settlement is the first plat of Brown county, although only of that part lying between Fox and Devil rivers from east to west, and from Duck creek to the rapids at De Pere, north and south. It shows Fox River to be bounded closely by farms, the largest not occupying a water frontage of over five hundred feet, but extending inland an indefinite distance.

The commissioner returned from adjudicating claims at Prairie du Chien on November 16, 1820, and from the lateness of the season was obliged to pass the winter at "the bay." It was possibly for the French inhabitants a fortunate circumstance, for opportunity was thus given to investigate and listen to testimony, and Lee's official report to the land commissioners at Detroit is a much more friendly and minute document than it might otherwise have been. He recommended clemency toward the careless Canadian habitant, who for many years had been tossed from one government to another until he hardly knew to which one he owed allegiance, who had been evicted from land he had long and industriously tilled, and left without title deed or any proof whatever of his occupancy.

Many of the claims were disallowed because the time of residence was less than required by law, which called for an exclusive and individual possession of the land from July, 1796, to March, 1807. This insured the claimants ownership of the property up to 1821, or a term of twenty-five years. The clause in relation to individual possession had reference to certain tracts of land which had been used from time immemorial by the village in common, or as "a common," where crops of corn or wheat sufficient to supply the entire community were harvested or the village cattle herded.

The complaint forwarded by Judge Matthew Irwin just previous to this allotment, setting forth that the six hundred families residing in the place were all still loyal subjects of Great Britain, was recognized by the insistence on the part of the commissioner that each claimant should take oath of allegiance to the United States.

The prominent fur traders, the Porliers, Lawes and the Grignons, received not even a reprimand for the active part taken by them against the United States during the War of 1812 and no further inquiry was made after the oath of allegiance was taken, with the explanatory clause that the "protection of our

government being entirely withdrawn from this district of country, the inhabitants were compelled to yield to the tyranny and caprice of the reigning power and its savage allies."

The old French claims were under dispute for many years, and were passed down through many generations, for the families of these early settlers intermarried until the connections were legion. The names of Porlier, Vieau, Beaupré, Langevin and Guardipie found in many legal papers recall the days of French occupancy of Brown county when boundary lines were marked by an elm tree or by a bend in the river rather than a surveyor's stake.

Throughout the towns of Bellevue, Allouez, Depere, Ashwaubenon and Howard, ran these narrow strips of property mapped off by the early French settlers, all fronting on the river, which furnished, with the bay, Brown county's highway to the outside world for two centuries.

On September, 1825, the plat of the town of Menomineeville was laid out by John Lawe, proprietor. A large piece of land was set off as a site for the public buildings to be erected there, as the deed states, "the seat of justice having been situated upon this lot." The streets were laid off running east and west with the names of the Indian tribes in the vicinity, "Kickapou," Dahcoatah, Ioway, "Saukee," and were sixty feet in width. Running from north to south, skirting the river, was the public highway, forty feet in width, on which faced most of the residences. High up on the hill stood the Episcopal mission house and the plat of 1825 records a donation of 198x220 feet of land not far from the river for Christ Church and yard.

The location was in many respects far more desirable for residences than the low land at the mouth of Fox river, and it was this reason that induced Colonel Joseph Lee Smith to transfer as he hoped permanently the Fort Howard garrison to this commanding site. By 1822, however, the United States government decided that the mouth of Fox River, the gateway to the Fox-Wisconsin waterway, was the evident point where a fort for defense should stand. Therefore the building of fortifications at Menomineeville was discontinued and the troops returned to the old cantonment which was to remain on the same ground for forty years to come, when the Chicago & North Western railroad acquired the property for its right of way.

(References for Chapter IX: Minute Book of Brown County Court; Amer. State Papers, Vol. 4, Public Lands and Military; Grignon Manuscripts; Report of A. C. Neville, Wis. Hist. Proc., 1909; H. S. Baird, Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. 2; Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. 19.)

CHAPTER X

BROWN COUNTY CIVIL GOVERNMENT AND COURTS

No fixed boundary lines defined the country west of the great lakes until the county of Brown was organized by an act of congress on October 26, 1818.

Heretofore under its successive owners the territory known as La Baye was included under the general name of the "upper country" and specialized as "Baye des Puans," the military post being usually designated as La Baye, rather than by the name of Fort St. Francis. The mission of St. François Xavier also recognized no clearly defined boundaries, and the priests wandered in their work of evangelization from Lake Huron to the Sioux country. The new county received its name in honor of Major General Jacob Brown, at that time commander-in-chief of the United States army.

Lewis Cass, the governor of Michigan, was a man thoroughly qualified for the many and diverse positions he was called upon to fill, from arbitrator and lawgiver in a section of country controlled by a mixed population of Indians, French fur traders, United States troops and a small contingent of American colonists whose avowed object was to develop the resources of the country, to that of English ambassador. It was a difficult matter to place upon a sound system of government this section of western territory, which from its very length of settlement and its importance commercially, had become a law unto itself and independent of the whole outside world. The Indians too, in this vicinity were looked upon as unruly and dangerous, liable to rise and tomahawk the unwary settler at any moment when it might suit the English colonial government to give the decisive word; to Cass belonged the prerogative of issuing fur trading licenses to the Indian country adjoining Green Bay and much finesse was required to keep peace between the American newcomers and the established peltry merchants.

The first civil appointments bear date of October 27, 1818, the day following Brown county's organization and included:

Matthew Irwin, chief justice, commissioner and judge of probate.

Charles Reaume, associate justice and justice of the peace.

John Bowyer, commissioner.

Robert Irwin, junior, clerk.

George Johnson, sheriff.

The form of oath as taken by the first sheriff of Brown county was as follows: "I do solemnly swear and declare that I will favor from this time forward and support the Constitution of the United States of America, and that I do

absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all fidelity to every foreign power, state or sovereignty, particularly to the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

"25 July, year of our Lord, 1821."

"GEORGE JOHNSON.

This first organized court in Brown county was run in haphazard fashion. No records seem to have been kept, and the chief justice, Matthew Irwin, with no knowledge whatever of law was no more of a success in judicial administration than in dispensing articles of apparel to the Indians as government storekeeper. He had, moreover, made himself very unpopular with the powerful class of fur traders, and Charles Reaume, the associate justice, lived only a short time after his appointment in the autumn of 1818. The latter's methods of procedure were much ridiculed by the first American settlers, who had endless stories to tell of Judge Reaume's quaint ways, his irascible questioning of culprits and clients, his seemingly absurd though often sound decisions, above all the use of his old, clumsy jackknife, as a warrant of arrest.

It is possible that on the occasion of Governor Cass' visit to the fort and hamlet on Fox river in August, 1820, complaint was made to him by the American inhabitants of the irregularity and lack of dignity displayed in their county court, although Schoolcraft notes at the time, "this settlement is now the seat of justice for Brown county in the territory of Michigan, and the ordinary courts of law are established." This was simply a justice court, for there is no record of an estate coming to probate prior to July 22, 1821. That no business came before the court previous to the above date may account for the lack of evidence that a Brown county court of probate existed in 1818, the date of Matthew Irwin's commission. The French settlers were not given to making wills, that of Domitelle Langlade (Madame Langevin), admitted to probate on July 9, 1824, being the earliest recorded.

The first entry in the record book of the Brown county court is the appointment of Robert Irwin, Isaac L. Welch and Thomas C. Sheldon, to take inventory "according to your skill and judgment," of the estate of Colonel John Bowyer, deceased. The appointment is made by order of John Biddle, judge of probate, on the 22d of July, 1822. Judge Biddle, who held office up to 1822, was a leading citizen not only of Brown county, where he was as far as known first acting judge of probate, but also as a member of congress from Michigan in 1830 and for many years prominent in the life of Detroit. On the death of Colonel Bowyer, Biddle succeeded him as agent of Indian affairs.

The estate of John Bowyer, the first and popular Indian agent for this section of territory, which came to probate in the summer of 1821, entailed many years of litigation before it was squared, for as late as the summer of 1829, the attempt at a settlement was still going on. The old man left no family, his youthful nephew, Henry Bowyer, who lived with him, having been drowned in Fox river previous to that time. The inventory and appraisement of household effects left by the government official seem hardly to justify so long a period of settlement, but the adjustment of creditors' claims was a lengthy operation.

The commissioners to receive such claims were Robert Irwin, Sr., Albert G. Ellis and Ezekiel Solomon. The estate was represented to be insolvent and the property sold must be applied to the satisfying of all claims. The reports



LEWIS CASS



of appraisement and demands of creditors show pretty clearly the furnishings of Colonel Bowyer's bachelor establishment, the servants he employed, the service of the table, his daily life in short. We learn from these lists what his clothes and those of Henry cost him, "\$2.00 apiece for pantaloons," etc., that he had "a roane horse called Gordon," a fowling piece manufactured by the Northwest company, a pair of spectacles valued at \$6.50. It appears that he ploughed his land on Dutchman's creek with oxen and raised on it oats, peas and barley, but not in sufficient quantities to supply the agency, with its thousands of dependent Indians, for he purchased all sorts of supplies from the French inhabitants and the government factory. We learn that his library consisted of two volumes of Morse's geography, probably purchased after the visit of Jedediah Morse to Green Bay in 1820, that he used wrought iron in his fireplace, and that Peter Ulrick "the Dutchman," looked after his hogs, while fowls were charged up to him by the French habitants at 50 cents a bird. Louis Grignon and the other high-bloods of the settlement came often by canoe to visit the colonel and a significant memorandum of the time records, "lost at play at Colonel Bowyer's."

According to an act adopted by the "Governor and Judges of Michigan Territory" on the 27th of October, 1818, it was provided that the county court for the county of Brown should be held on the second Monday of July, in each year, but this was later amended or overruled, the judge in office apparently holding court whenever he so ordained. The *Coutume de Paris* or old laws of France, was the code in use throughout the entire "Province of Upper Canada," but had been formally annulled in that portion now comprised within Wisconsin on September 16, 1810. Under Judge Reaume's administration, however, this enactment was absolutely ignored and the old French law was still the one in force when the American court was organized in 1818.

In October of that year the following resolution was adopted by the governor and those in authority: "Whereas the good people of the Territory of Michigan may be ensnared by ignorance of acts of Parliament of England, and of the acts of the Parliament of Great Britain, which are not published among the laws of the territory, it has been thought advisable by the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Michigan hereafter specially to enact such of the said acts as shall appear worthy of adoption; Be it therefore enacted by the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Michigan; That no act of Parliament of England, and no act of the Parliament of Great Britain shall have any force in the Territory of Michigan. . . . Be it enacted by the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Michigan; that the *Coutume de Paris*, or ancient French Common Law existing in this country, the laws, acts, ordinances, arrests and decrees of the governors or other authorities of the Province of Canada, and the Province of Louisiana under the ancient French crown, and of the governors, parliaments or other authorities of the Province of Canada generally, and of the Province of Upper Canada particularly under the British crown are hereby formally annulled, and the same shall be of no force within the Territory of Michigan; Provided, that all rights accruing under them or any of them shall remain valid."

The inhabitants of La Baye settlement knew no other government or code of laws except that in force in Canada, but in 1821 a compilation of the laws in force in the territory of Michigan was published, which was called the code of

1820, and comprehended all such statutes as were essential to the successful administration of civil government within the territory.

Jacques Porlier, the well known fur trader, when appointed to succeed Judge Biddle as chief justice and judge of probate in December, 1822, carefully translated into French for his own use and at his death left in manuscript the new and unfamiliar code. Porlier, well educated, and a most courteous gentleman, also held office as justice of the peace, not only under commission of the United States, but also prior to this under English government and was, according to contemporary testimony, "the most useful man in the settlement."

Brown county seems to have had at this time (1822) no less than three justices and a county judge to adjust legal differences in its newly organized government. None of them were lawyers, and their jurisdiction both civil and criminal was limited; they were obliged to enter upon the duties of their several offices without formulas to refer to, or precedents of proceedings, and it is not surprising that the legal documents of that day are without much form, and the court records entirely missing.

Important cases which were beyond the jurisdiction of a justice court were adjudicated by the supreme court of Michigan, consisting of three judges, which held its sessions semi-annually at Detroit. Thither criminals were conveyed for trial, a mode of procedure causing much delay and confusion, for the journey to Detroit must be made by bateau or bark canoe, as transportation by schooner was still rare and the long trip by land exceedingly wearisome.

It was therefore cause for sincere congratulation among the inhabitants of Brown county and those of Michilimackinac, when, in the early part of the year 1823, congress passed an act establishing what was known as the additional judicial district, "comprising the counties of Brown, Michilimackinac and Crawford."

On February 1, 1823, James Duane Doty was appointed judge of the newly organized circuit, but does not appear to have taken the oath of office until June of the succeeding year. Meantime in preparation for Judge Doty's arrival on the scene of action the deputy clerk of the court, Alexander J. Irwin, a young fellow of twenty-three and something of a wag conformed with the written statute by convening court daily for two weeks at the appointed place in Menomineeville. The first records of the circuit court of Brown county begin thus, written in a beautiful clear hand: "At a session of the Circuit Court of the United States for the County of Brown in the Territory of Michigan on the 13th day of June, 1823, the Deputy Clerk attended at the Court House at the time designated by the statute, but no judge appearing the court adjourned to meet again at ten o'clock a. m., June 14th, 1823.

ALEXANDER J. IRWIN, Deputy Clerk."

Up to June twenty-fourth, when the court adjourned sine die, the deputy clerk daily, Sundays excepted, was on hand and noted down each day that "the judge not appearing the court adjourned," but not until October of the following year did Judge Doty formally convene the circuit court "in conformity with the statute." On June 30, 1824, Governor Lewis Cass certified that he had administered the oath of office to James D. Doty, as additional judge for the counties of Brown, Michilimackinac and Crawford. In August, James H. Lockwood applied for admission to practice in the court and was admitted, and on

October 4, 1824, the first regular term of the United States circuit court for Brown county was held at Menomineeville.

Judge Doty's circuit included all of Michigan's upper peninsula the entire tract afterward comprised in the state of Wisconsin, and the country north of the St. Croix river and east of the Mississippi to latitude forty degrees, now under the government of Minnesota. The terms of court for this extended territory were to be held at Mackinac, Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, the judge making the journey on horseback or by means of a birch bark canoe paddled by chanting voyageurs. Doty was at this time just twenty-three years of age but was already regarded as a man of experience and authority, well suited to the important position he was called upon to fill. The first session of the newly created court was held at Mackinac in July, 1824, the judge presiding with much tact and dignity.

The legal mode of procedure heretofore in use throughout Judge Doty's district made his position a difficult one. The French and English languages were used indiscriminately, and the traders had long been independent of any law, regulated by a settled code. Under Doty's administration the Brown county federal court promptly rose to the first dignity and assumed an orderly and well-grounded character; decisions were based on the rules and practice of other states, and were made according to the common law.

This first term of court in the county of Brown was held in a small log cabin on the east shore of Fox river in the town of Allouez, the grand jury holding its deliberations in the court room. The prosecuting attorney was Henry S. Baird, a young Irishman, later a prominent figure in Wisconsin history, who was admitted to the bar at this term of court and was the first lawyer to practice west of Lake Michigan.

The first case on the docket was the trial of Aruba J. Joice, a soldier belonging to the third regiment of United States infantry, stationed at Fort Howard, who "not having the fear of God before his eyes but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, on the 1st day of January, 1824, etc., did kill No-No-So-bi-Ma an Ottawa Indian, with a certain large stick of no value," of which deed Joice was found guilty and sentenced to hard labor in the "county gaol" for two years.

At this initial session of the United States court, Judge Doty caused much stir and decided ill feeling by charging the grand jury to make special inquiry in relation to persons living with Indian wives to whom they had not been married according to church or civil law. Thirty-six bills of indictment were brought in, and the offenders notified that they must be married in proper form and produce a certificate of the fact, or stand a trial. This drastic decision, although in the end salutary, caused much confusion among the inhabitants, many of whom had been married according to the Indian custom, there having been in the settlement no magistrate prior to the appointment of Judge Reaume and no resident priest. The people of the Green Bay country came at Judge Doty's summons, bringing him their marriage certificates, or were married before the court according to civil code.

Endless litigation grew out of this decree in later years, and many of the common-law marriages were pronounced legal by decisions of the courts. There remains a curious court record in manuscript of 1839, which bears upon this

period of Brown county's legal history. It is a suit brought by the children of an early French resident to prove their title to property in the town of Astor, and shows the confusion which ensued because of these common-law marriages and the difficulty of obtaining proof sufficient to make good the claim of the children as rightful heirs to their parents' property. The witnesses in this legal proceeding are from families who occupied the land in 1804, as many of the original owners were at that time (1839) still surviving.

Question: "When did the laws of the whites come in force here?"

Answer: "When Judge Doty came here, which was in the spring of 1824. There were some white people here (De Pere), in 1802. When a white man took a white woman to wife they were married before witnesses—when a white person took a squaw for a wife they were married according to the Indian custom, which was by asking the consent of the Indian parents—the son-in-law would make presents to the girl's parents, who would send the girl to the son-in-law's house and he would afterward assist in supporting the parents.

"The Indians and whites were living mixed. There was a settlement here it was among the Indians on each side of the river. I mean from the place on the river from Captain (Judge) Arndt's up here to Depere. The Indians lived in that place, they had their villages here and planted corn—they left in the fall to hunt and returned in the spring. The white settlement extended from here (De Pere) to Judge Arndt's and the Indian residents intermingled with those of the whites."

In the county court Judge Porlier held the office of chief justice and judge of probate until succeeded by John Lawe, whose signature first appears in a record of June 24, 1824. Both Porlier and Lawe were fur traders, devoting their time and interests to the furtherance of this traffic, still the most important industry of the county. Beaver pelts were becoming rather scarce but other fur-bearing animals were to be taken in abundance, and agents of the American Fur Company were the top of the heap socially in the Fox river settlement. Lawe's home was situated on Lawe's Point, a sandy spit of land that jutted out in the river at the western extremity of Porlier street, in the present city of Green Bay, while Porlier lived in a little low house built by a voyageur, Joseph Roy, on the west side of the river and so nearly opposite to Lawe's trading house that each could watch the other when the season for gathering in the peltries was on, and the river was dotted with loaded canoes. While in league against outside interference Lawe, Porlier and Grignon were intensely jealous of any possible advantage one might gain over the other, and the ethics of the fur trade were sternly enforced in their intercourse.

There is a letter of John Lawe's preserved in the Historical Library at Madison, written in 1824, which absolutely, without intention, gives a vivid picture of the trader's trials at this time. It is a dark and gloomy day in November, the river running rough outside, his trading house, which stood close to the water's edge, filled with drunken Indians haggling over the price to be charged them for guns and trinkets. Lawe, thoroughly sick of the whole outfit, writes that no more Indians must be allowed to come down to the settlement. "Tell them that the smallpox is raging. Amable Grignon has it, and the fort has gone into quarantine. No boats can cross the river."

In the corner of the large room stood the scales on which peltry packs were

weighed, and there was little other furniture in the room except the high desk where the clerks stood to make out the accounts and the inventories. There is, however quite another side to the picture, for Lawe's house was a rendezvous for officers and civilians, and many were the gay gatherings that took place there.

In "Life in Territorial Wisconsin," Mrs. Henry S. Baird describes Judge Lawe's log house in 1824; this house was later replaced by a commodious and handsomely built frame dwelling erected about 1836:

"Judge Lawe's home, a large one-story building with many additions stood near the river, and a path led from it through the grass to the beach. The ceilings were very low and the windows small, so small that when the Indians came peering in, the room was almost darkened. An indescribable air of mystery hung over the place, there was a dreamy appearance about the whole. Then all around the house and store stood Indians waiting to trade off their peltries. One might sit in that house and imagine all sorts of things not likely to happen."

The minute book of the Brown county court during Judge Lawe's incumbency does not show a crowded docket. One entry after another reads "The court met this day, Present, Hon. John Lawe, Judge of Probate. Therefore the court adjourned." The "indisposition of the Judge," or "the inclemency of the weather," this entry being on the second of May, or "the Judge not appearing" were all sufficient causes for adjournment. The French inhabitants seemed to have died intestate, and their estates were not settled in probate court, that of Domitelle Langevin's being the most complicated which appeared before Judge Lawe.

Robert Irwin, junior, who first began his political career as register of probate, in 1824, was sent to the first legislative council of Michigan territory, serving for three years. He also held the office of first postmaster of Brown county. All offices were situated in Shantytown, "Munomonee, Green Bay township," as Judge Doty heads his letters at this date. As a matter of fact, however, the Green Bay township was not founded until on the 12th of April, 1827, an act was passed "to divide the several counties in this territory into townships." In that portion of the territory which is now Wisconsin but two townships were formed, of which one was in Crawford county and called "St. Anthony." The other was in Brown county, and was called "Green Bay." The southwestern boundary of the latter was a line running southeast and northwest through the head of the rapids of the grand Kankanlin and extending ten miles on such line each way therefrom. The northeastern boundary was a line drawn northwest and southeast through Point au Sable of Green Bay and extending ten miles on such a line each way therefrom. The southeast and northwest boundaries were parallel lines, twenty miles apart, connecting the other boundaries. Fox river consequently ran nearly through the center of the township.

When the question of a county seat for Brown was brought into prominence Lewis Cass, spokesman and lawgiver for all the territory west of Lake Michigan, authorized the justices of the county court to locate the seat within six miles of the mouth of the Fox river. They neglected to act, and in 1824 the Territorial Council of Michigan passed the responsibility over to the county commissioners. Neither would they decide, and the next year, 1825, the commit-

tee on decisions was formed to consist of the justices of the peace, the county commissioners and the United States judge; whereupon the seat of justice was fixed at Menomineeville, in a log house, erected for the reception of the county officials, until the year 1828. On the seventeenth of March of that year Doty wrote in regard to the trial of Red Bird, the celebrated Winnebago chief, then imprisoned at Fort Winnebago.

"It is expected the Winnebaygo prisoners will be tried at G. Bay or St. Louis. Col. McKenny prefers the latter place—and to this I certainly shall not object. I expect the territorial committee will report a bill making several amendments to the act creating the circuit court. * * * I beg you to urge the supervisors to take measures to erect a building of some sort to hold the court in—if it is only a Winnebaygo wigwaam."

The town of Menomineeville grew apace and the slope and plain below was dotted with the log cabins of settlers. Judge Doty, always an ambitious spirit in pioneer house building, had erected for his use, a large frame house which stood on the river shore just across from Ashwaubenon creek on private claim 21. It was a two-story structure and was afterwards purchased by the government (1827) for an Indian agency house. By the following year the judge had put up another homestead. This was a one-story brick dwelling, the material for which was brought by sailing vessel from the east and was stuccoed and white-washed. The house was still in process of building in March, 1828, and of it Doty writes: "I wish you or Mr. Whitney would make a bargain for me with any mechanic at the bay to paint and pencil the outside of my brick house. * * * Please say to my friend, Major Brevoort, that I have sold my frame house to the Govt., but as I have not yet received the money I can not transfer it to him until my return. There has been a great and unnecessary delay about this which I can explain when I see you."

In 1830 when a treaty was in progress between the New York Indians and the western tribes, the Menominees indicated their choice of the person they wished as counsel as "one who lived in a brick house and was judge of the high court," and this identification of the well-known jurist (Doty) is significant of the wide impression made on the Indians as well as white men by the construction of a brick house in these western wilds. Meantime in the probate court Judge Lawe had resigned in favor of N. G. Bean and on June 14, 1832, wrote: "I recommended N. G. Bean for the appointment of judge of probate at the same time I sent in my resignation. I see you write to Bernard Grignon to enquire of me who I wish to recommend but if they will not consent to appoint him, though I wish very much he would be appointed, I wish to be exonerated immediately, and you will please recommend any person that you know will do honor & justice & not let it fall into the hands you know of some persons that will or may make bad use or take advantage of the power."

The appointment of Nicolas G. Bean, Lawe's protegee, to the county judgeship was received within the following year, Bean assuming his duties on June 22, 1833. He was in many ways a man of ability, a former lieutenant in the regular army but who had retired from the service in 1815. Without relatives or friends; Bean was taken under the patronage of John Lawe, then one of the wealthiest and most powerful of the residents on the shores of Fox river. Lawe proved a good friend of the morose, disappointed man, and in his hospitable home

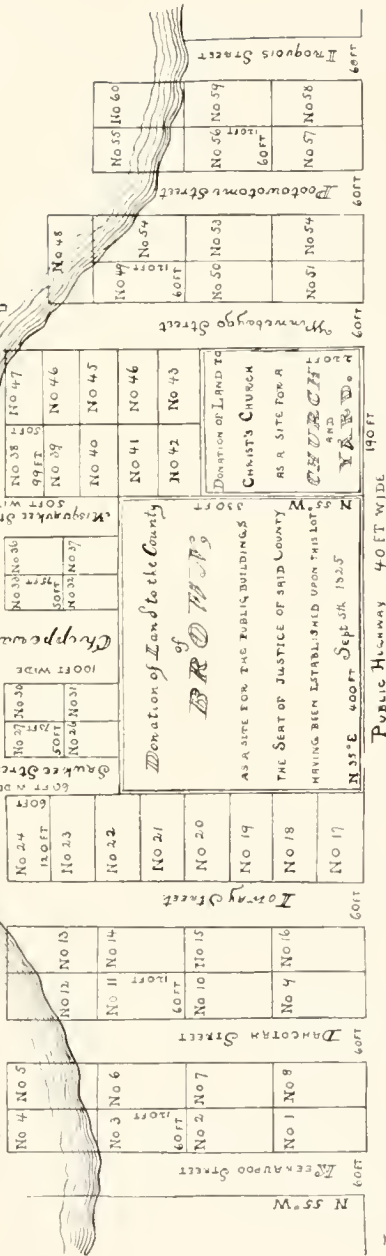
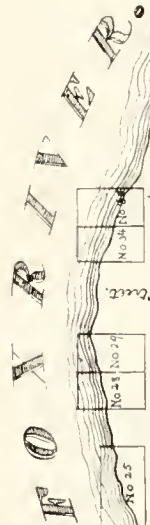
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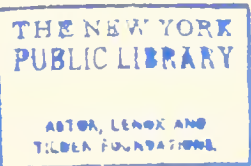
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MUNNOMONIE
in the

County of Brewster,
John Lawrence
Register

Proprietor





Bean was given comfortable quarters and the freedom of the house. Barring out his one great fault of intemperance, Judge Bean was acknowledged to be remarkably correct in his decisions and unswerving in his integrity. "It is often said that Bean, drunk or sober, would do justice though the heavens should fall. Some fault was found with the locale of his docket, which it was feared would be lost, and the rights of parties go with it—it was kept in his hat crown. After all no one ever sought in vain for a paper; it was always speedily produced from the safe receptacle—his hat."

At the second session of the third legislative council of the territory of Michigan, 1829, it was provided that the county courts of the territory including those of Michilimackinac, Brown and Crawford should not from that time on have jurisdiction in any civil matter in law or equity. This was during Judge Lawe's incumbency and the act remained in force until 1875, when the law creating a new county court in Brown was passed, and civil jurisdiction restored. This act, however, was later repealed and jurisdiction in probate matters only was given to the county court.

Nicolas Bean held the office of judge of probate for four years, up to the time of his death. He was succeeded by Joel S. Fisk, a practical, astute business man who had studied law but was not practicing. Judge Fisk held the office from March, 1827, until the following December when he resigned and moved to De Pere. George Meredith, of whom no particulars can be gleaned, kept the minute book and apparently presided over the court until February 26, 1838, when Charles C. P. Arndt was appointed to the position.

Green Bay was in this year regularly incorporated as a borough and the office of judge of probate was an important one. Young Arndt gave very good satisfaction and was still holding the office when he was elected as one of the members of the state legislative council from Brown county. The last entry made by him as judge is on July 29, 1841. In February, 1842, he was shot in the legislative hall at Madison by James R. Vineyard, the most tragic event that ever occurred in the political life of Wisconsin.

Arndt's father, John P. Arndt, succeeded him in the office of probate judge, and began his duties on April 30, 1842, only retaining the position, however, until August 7, 1843.

The next incumbent, Charles Chapman, was a well known and well-liked resident of Green Bay, who although not a lawyer, discharged the duties of his office satisfactorily. The county seat was now established at De Pere and there was constant grumbling among the residents of the older borough over the inconvenience caused in the transaction of business. The term of office by succeeding judges of probate up to 1849 is uniformly very short, not exceeding a year and a half at the longest.

David Agry seems to have occupied the bench from February 3, 1845, to October 4th of the same year when John Last came into office, holding the position until June 5, 1847. Judge Last was a highly educated Englishman and well read in the law, who came to America in 1832 and held during ensuing years many offices of trust and importance in Green Bay. From September, 1848, for one year John P. Arndt again occupied the Brown county bench, but in September of 1849 David Agry, the stalwart and highly-respected incumbent for the ensuing twenty-eight years, entered into the duties of his office.

In 1875, the organization of a new county court in Brown county necessitated

the election of an additional judge and Morgan L. Martin was elected to the office. On the death of Judge Agry in February, 1877, Judge Martin assumed the duties of the probate court, civil jurisdiction having been largely curtailed in the county court.

On the death of Judge Martin on December 10, 1887, Howard J. Huntington was appointed by the governor to fill the unexpired term. Judge Huntington proved a very popular jurist during the fifteen years in which he occupied the Brown county bench, his death occurring in the spring of 1902.

The present incumbent, Carlton Merrill, after serving by appointment Judge Huntington's unexpired term of office, was elected without opposition and has filled the Brown county judgeship most acceptably and honorably. Judge Merrill is a son of Curtis R. Merrill, who during the war of the rebellion was provost marshal and in charge of the recruiting station at Green Bay.

In the early circuit court, which included the counties of Brown, Crawford and Michilimackinac, James Duane Doty was succeeded, in 1832, by David Irvin of Virginia, who when not holding court made his home in that state or in Ohio. This indifference to his political supporters naturally nettled the people of Brown county, and it was questioned whether a non-resident could legally retain so responsible a position in the territory.

A petition was sent to President Jackson, urging him to make another appointment, but "Old Hickory" seems to have regarded "the voice of an injured territory," as unworthy of serious attention, the appeal was ignored, and the stately dignified Irvin retained his judicial circuit until the formation of Wisconsin territory in 1836, when he was transferred to another district and became an associate justice of the territorial supreme court.

Justice Pinney's estimate of Judge Irvin was as follows: "He was not considered a profound lawyer, but with a strong vein of practical common sense and a natural love of justice; after hearing the arguments and examining the authorities he was generally enabled to give correct and satisfactory decisions."

The Virginian is thus described by a contemporary: "Judge Irvin was spare of form, thin and pallid of face, and had a sparse covering on his head of dull yellow hair, brushed straight back from his forehead, which set off his peculiar facial development in somewhat cadaverous fashion. He came to Wisconsin fully imbued with the dignity of his office and with absorbing devotion to his native state. Aristocratic in lineage, full of almost childish whims and crochets, yet with a keen sense of humor which gave him a happy vein in story telling. The judge's passion for horses and dogs was excessive, and it became a kind of local proverb that in order to win a case in his court one must praise his horse, 'Pedro,' and his dog, 'York.' "

Wisconsin during Judge Irwin's term of office still formed a part of Michigan territory and the circuit was practically the same as when Judge Doty first came into office in 1824. With the organization of Wisconsin territory the judiciary followed the precedent established in other states and power was vested in a supreme court, district courts, probate courts and justices of the peace. Wisconsin was divided into three judicial districts, in each of which at a stated time and place regular sessions of court were to be held, presided over by a judge, who served by presidential appointment and held his office "during

good behaviour." The supreme court was made up of these district judges who were empowered to elect one of their number as chief justice.

On the twenty-second of May, 1837, Judge William C. Frazer held his first term of court in De Pere, succeeding Judge Irvin. No civil cases were tried in consequence of the disarrangement of records and papers, the county seat having been moved to that place from Menomineeville only the year previous. The criminal calendar was, however, disposed of during the week's term. Maw-zaw-mon-nee-hah, a Winnebago Indian, was indicted for the murder of Pierre Pauquette, a well known creole fur trader at Fort Winnebago, and was sentenced to be hung on the first of September following. For burglary a prisoner was sentenced to seven years' solitary confinement in the county jail at hard labor and in addition a fine of \$100 was imposed.

Judging by newspaper comments of that day Judge Frazer's first appearance on the Brown county bench was highly creditable. His decisions were prompt and drastic and his dignified mode of conducting proceedings was in marked contrast to his later and less approved judicial methods.

"He had fallen into intemperate habits and his health, both physical and mental, had become seriously impaired. He was sixty years old and nervous, impatient, arbitrary and often harsh, overbearing and offensive in his judicial conduct and in his treatment of the members of the bar." (Bench & Bar of Wisconsin.)

Judge Frazer's death occurred in October, 1838, and in November of the same year Andrew Galbraith Miller was appointed as his successor. The first term of court held in the new court house at De Pere was presided over by Judge Miller, who proved himself to be a jurist of exceptional acumen and ability. It was fifteen years and more after his first appearance on the Brown county bench that Judge Miller, as federal judge, handed in his famous decision upholding the fugitive slave law.

The proceedings in the Wisconsin federal court during the fifties assumed national importance and contributed not a little toward preparing the way for the conflict of arms between the free and slave states in 1861. Feeling throughout Wisconsin against the law was very strong, and most of those who thronged the courtroom in Milwaukee daily, when the trial of Sherman Booth, who aided the escape of the slave, Joshua Glover, was in progress, were in warm sympathy with the accused. Judge Miller presided with calm dignity and unflinching firmness and courage. He believed the law to be valid and his duty to enforce it plain under the official oath, whatever he might think of its wisdom or abstract justice. For a time Judge Miller was decidedly unpopular throughout Wisconsin and feeling ran high against him, until later when it was proved that although upholding the federal law in regard to the return of the escaped slave to his master, he in other ways aided the slave and approved the action of his rescuers.

Judge Miller was the last of the territorial judges to preside in the little De Pere courthouse. Wisconsin was admitted into the union as a state in June, 1848, and the judicial organization of Brown county changed in common with the rest of the newly created commonwealth. It became a portion of the fourth judicial circuit which comprised the counties of Brown, Sheboygan, Manitowoc, Winnebago, Calumet and Fond du Lac.

Alexander W. Stowe, a native of Lowville, New York, was elected judge of the fourth circuit and later chosen by his associates in the Wisconsin judiciary, chief justice of the state supreme court. Of Judge Stowe's ability Judge Morgan L. Martin, his lifelong friend, wrote: "As presiding officer of the supreme court his highest eulogium may be found in the opinions he pronounced during his short official term. They exhibit great comprehensiveness of thought; are terse, incisive and pungent in diction and furnish models of judicial composition."

At the fall elections of 1850, Timothy Otis Howe was elected judge of the fourth circuit and in January, 1851, took his seat as an associate justice of the supreme court. Judge Howe was a native of Maine, who had been a resident of Green Bay since 1845 and had become prominent as a practicing lawyer and in the social life of the town. During the winter of 1852, a separate supreme court was created in Wisconsin, the judges of the circuit court thus losing their functions as associate judges.

Judge Howe resigned from the circuit bench in 1855, and resumed the practice of law in Green Bay. He had at this time gained reputation as an able lawyer, and had come to the front politically as a speaker for the newly organized republican party. It is said that Howe would have received the Wisconsin senatorship in 1857, had he not strenuously opposed the states rights issue, for the country was already in a disturbed and expectant condition and the feeling between the parties was bitter. In 1861 Judge Howe took his seat in the United States senate, an office which he held for eighteen years. In 1880, by appointment of President Garfield, he became postmaster general, serving in the cabinet of President Arthur. His death occurred in March 25, 1883.

Judge Howe's other public services included a commissionership for the purchase of the Black Hills territory from the Indians and membership in the international monetary conference held in Paris in 1881.

After July 1, 1855, the eastern district including the counties of Brown, Kewaunee, Door, Outagamie, Oconto and Shawano were formed into a new circuit to be called the tenth judicial circuit, Stephen Rossiter Cotton of Green Bay being elected as presiding judge to succeed Judge Howe. A native of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Judge Cotton was a direct descendant of John Cotton, the famous New England divine. In the spring of 1842, he removed to Green Bay and entered upon the practice of his profession. Of Judge Cotton's record on the bench Moses M. Strong, the well-known Mineral Point lawyer, says: "The discharge of his duties as judge was marked by superior learning and ability; great patience and endurance, a wonderful suavity of manner and the greatest consideration for the rights and feelings of all concerned."

Judge Cotton declined reelection after serving a term of six years. His successors, Edwin Wheeler and Garum W. Washburn, were neither of them Brown county men or identified with its interests. They were followed by Ezra Thompson Sprague who took his seat at the May term of 1870. Judge Sprague was a resident of De Pere, and a respected jurist. He was considered by the Brown county bar an able lawyer, and sound although slow in his decisions. In 1871, Eleazer Holmes Ellis of Green Bay was elected to the bench in the tenth judicial circuit. Judge Ellis, a son of Albert G. Ellis, one of the earliest and best known, of the first American settlers, was a native of Brown

county and thoroughly familiar with conditions and people throughout his circuit. He served satisfactorily for eight years when he resigned his office to resume the practice of law.

Judge Ellis' retirement from the bench was much regretted. His satisfactory public service and high private character had won for him esteem throughout the state and county. His long and honorable career closed in December, 1906.

George Henry Meyers of Outagamie county was the successor of Judge Ellis in the tenth judicial circuit, holding office until 1883, when the legislature created the fourteenth judicial circuit out of the counties of Brown, Door, Marinette and Oconto. The election for judge was held on the first Tuesday in May, 1883, and resulted in the choice of Samuel Dexter Hastings, who by repeated reelections continues to be judge. The boundaries of Judge Hastings' circuit were changed in 1911, owing to the great increase in the amount of business coming before the court, Oconto was placed in another circuit, the fourteenth, now comprising the counties of Brown, Kewaunee and Door.

His long service on the bench, the soundness of his decisions and the fact that his services on the supreme bench in Wisconsin have been desired, are sufficient comment on his ability, both as a lawyer and jurist.

On May 1, 1904, a municipal court was established in the county of Brown, of which Nicholas J. Monahan, a member of the Brown county bar and a resident of Green Bay, was elected judge. The business of the court has increased rapidly, a juvenile court having been added to the duties assumed by Judge Monahan, and in which he has done efficient service.

Judges of Brown county court: Matthew Irwin, John Biddle, Jacques Portier, John Lawe, Nicholas G. Bean, Joel S. Fisk, George Meredith, Charles C. P. Arndt, John P. Arndt, Charles Chapman, David Agry, John Last, John P. Arndt, David Agry, Morgan L. Martin, Howard J. Huntington, Carlton Merrill.

Judges of circuit court: James Duane Doty, David Irvin, William C. Frazer, Andrew G. Miller, Alexander W. Stowe, Timothy O. Howe, Stephen R. Cotton, Edwin Wheeler, Garum W. Washburn, Ezra T. Sprague, E. Holmes Ellis, George H. Myers, Samuel D. Hastings.

(References for Chapter X: Thompson, Political History of Wisconsin; Berryman, Bench and Bar of Wisconsin; Minute Book of Brown County Court; Circuit Court Record Book; Martin papers, MSS.)

CHAPTER XI

NEW YORK INDIANS AND ELEAZER WILLIAMS

The coming of the American troops in 1816, not only gave impetus to the growth of the newly acquired territory at the head of Green Bay, but also drew the attention of practical eastern men to the extensive tracts of land still owned by Indian tribes, in the west. The New York Land Company, whose chief incorporator was Thomas W. Ogden, in order to open for sale the fertile stretches of country in the Mohawk valley owned by the Oneida, Tuscarora, and other nations, conceived the plan of purchasing these lands and removing the several tribes of the six nations to lands about La Baye.

Negotiations for the transference of at least a part of these Indians to the west were begun in 1820 when on the 7th of July the United States cutter "Dallas" brought to Green Bay, Reverend Jedidiah Morse, D. D., of New Haven, who had been commissioned by President Monroe to make a report on the condition of the western tribes, in view of the proposed removal. He gave a favorable report of the tract lying along Fox river, and in 1821, Eleazer Williams, belonging to the St. Regis tribe, and who had become deeply interested in the scheme, traveled westward to Green Bay with a delegation of Oneidas, Onondagas, Tuscaroras, and Stockbridges, their object being to treat with the Menominees and Winnebagoes for a cession of their territory.

Previous to 1821 and in that year especially, the government of the United States took active and efficient measures to facilitate the purchase of a tract of land in the Northwestern territory for the accommodation and future settlement of the eastern Indians. It was desired by the government that these friendly Indians, who had made considerable advances in civilization and improvement, might be placed in a distant outpost where they might serve to check or harmonize the disaffected or hostile savages of that region. The attachment shown by the New York tribes during the War of 1812 was also given as an additional reason for the extension to them of the fostering care of the government.

Dr. Jedidiah Morse was an eminent Congregational divine, the best American geographer of his time, and the father of the inventor of the telegraph. He remained as the guest of Colonel Joseph Lee Smith, the commandant at Fort Howard, from July seventh to twenty-third, 1820, and received many pleasant courtesies from the government officials and residents of the place. In an interview with three chiefs of the Menominee nation, he laid before them the plan proposed by the government. With one of the chiefs, Sa-que-tack (Very Good-natured), he held a conference on the parade ground at Fort Howard, stating to him the design of the government to teach the Indians "agriculture and the arts and how to live and dress like the white people." The

chief smiled. "It will look droll," said he, "to see Indians in such a situation. We are willing," he added, "to receive these blessings if others will." (Rpt. to Sec. of War, by Rev. J. Morse.)

Dr. Morse says that Sa-que-tack's village of only thirty-six souls was on Green Bay three miles below Fort Howard, their food being fish, wild fowl, wild rice and corn.

The questions were put to them whether they would be willing to collect together in one place large enough to accommodate each family with a farm; to cultivate the earth; have schools for their children, and live as white people live. They were informed that Mr. Williams and a number of the chiefs of the six nations were on their way to Green Bay, to look out for a place of settlement. "Should these delegates be pleased with the country," they were asked, "will you sell, or give them lands on which they may settle?" The Menominees hesitated. They were at the time very anxious over an unauthorized treaty strongly opposed by the acknowledged chiefs of the nation, which had been concluded by Colonel Bowyer, the Green Bay Indian agent, for the purchase by government of a large tract of their most valued land on both sides of Fox river. This treaty was afterwards annulled; for Dr. Morse in his government report characterized it "an attempt of wicked speculators to defraud them of their valued lands" and represented the matter so forcibly to President Monroe that he assumed the responsibility of rejecting the treaty without even submitting it to the senate.

In the winter of 1819-20 Eleazer Williams, a missionary to the Oneidas in New York, obtained from the war department permission to visit during the following summer "the barbarous tribes living in the vicinity of Green Bay," but not until 1821 did the ambitious and zealous leader succeed in accomplishing the design of bringing west a delegation of eastern Indians.

On August 8, 1821, a rather vague treaty was made with the Wisconsin Indians for a strip of land five miles or less wide having the Little Kakalin as its center, and extending northwest and southeast as far as the Menominees and Winnebagoes held the land. These tribes at the time owned nearly all the region that is now Wisconsin.

By no means satisfied with this treaty, that part of the Oneidas opposed to the transference of their nation to the west openly repudiated this purchase. They sent an address to Bishop Hobart of New York denouncing Williams as one who was scheming to deprive them of their homes and who would in the end make them wanderers and vagabonds. Despite all opposition, however, the promoters of immigration rallied to the support of their pet project, and on September 1, 1822, the Reverend Eleazer Williams and his assistant, Albert G. Ellis, with a representation of Indians much larger than that of the preceding year, entered the mouth of Fox river in the staunch new schooner "Superior."

"The sun," wrote General Ellis many years after, "coming up in majestic splendor gilded the shores of the river and the hamlet of Green Bay with light and beauty. Both banks for five or six miles were dotted with the settlers' cabins which were uniformly whitewashed with lime and in the bright morning sun at a mile's distance shone like balls of fire. The scene was a perfect enchantment."

Williams took possession of the agency house, formerly the residence of



ELEAZER WILLIAMS, LOST DAUPHIN



Colonel Bowyer on the north bank of Dutchman's Creek, where it empties into Fox river. News of the arrival of the delegation having been sent to the different tribes, the Winnebagoes and Menominees at once began to assemble, in order to receive from the New York Indians the fifteen hundred dollars' worth of goods promised them in the treaty of the preceding year. They gathered to the number of three or four thousand; the braves in their gay toggery of beaded buckskin with gaudy blankets hanging loosely from the waist; the papooses and meager camp equipage packed on small ponies; the squaws patiently trudging in the rear. A village of mat-covered lodges sprang up almost in a single night on the level plain north of the agency house where in the presence of Colonel Pinckney, and other officers from the garrison and French residents from the town, the council convened.

The Winnebagoes almost immediately repudiated the treaty, declaring that their land was already overrun with white men, and they had no mind to share with others the little that remained of their once wide territory. Before leaving the council, however, they consented to give a war dance for the diversion of the visitors, and a circle was formed, the hollow space in the center filled with dancers, drummers and singers. The drum made from an old keg or hollow log was beaten with ceaseless monotony, and in addition the players used a reed pipe of their own invention not unlike a flageolet, from which they drew a plaintive harmony touching beyond description. The little band of white men occupied the inner ring, while on the outside of the circle were massed hundreds of savages lying, leaning, standing, daubed with paint of every tint, and with one, two or as many as twenty eagle's quills stuck upright in the hair.

A score of stalwart young Winnebagoes without a thread of clothing save a breech cloth, painted in gorgeous colors with circles of red, green and blue around the eyes, and armed with spears and tomahawks, began at a given signal the pantomimic description of war. First, the crafty seizing of the tomahawk, then the discovery of the enemy, the shooting and scalping—all so well enacted that the spectators could easily understand the import of their wild and savage movements. The excitement gradually increased until all the participants were in motion, dancing, singing, shouting, yelling, dangling metallic rods; at one time humming a sort of chant in a low bass monotone, then suddenly passing after a wild disjointed interval into a sharp scream made tremulous by placing the fingers on the lips and repeated every two or three minutes. With their bodies naked except for the covering of paint and their feathered crowns they seemed as they darted back and forth brandishing their death weapons more like demons than men.

None could endure the sight unappalled, for the Winnebagoes were at that time the most warlike of Wisconsin tribes, quick to revenge fancied injury and requiring in recompense five lives for one. This was however a peaceful exhibition of their powers; with the last war whoop silently and swiftly they moved away, and while horror of the weird spectacle still thrilled the onlookers, the camp was struck and the Indians were off for the winter hunt.

The Menominees remained and after much parley were induced to give "the Stockbridge, Oneida, Tuscarora, St. Regis and Munsee nations. * * * all right title, interest and claim" which they themselves had previously pos-

sessed to an immense tract whose southern and eastern limits were the mouth of the Milwaukee river and the Bay de Noque. The northern boundary was the height of land between Lakes Michigan and Superior, the western indefinite. The consideration was "a thousand dollars in goods to be paid the next year," and a similar amount the year following. The Menominees reserved the right, "the free permission and privilege of occupying and residing upon the lands herein ceded."

In giving his approval, March 13, 1823, to this treaty President Monroe limited the rights of the eastern Indians to "that portion of the country therein described which lies between Sturgeon Bay, Green Bay, Fox river and that part of the former purchase made by the said tribes * * * which lies south of Fox river." All this land was at the time included in Brown county.

The Oneida delegates made their headquarters at the little Kakalin or Little Rapids, a beautiful and romantic situation on Fox river. Here in the following summer or autumn a small party of their people under the leadership of Neddy Atsiquet formed a settlement. This increased until in 1825 it numbered as many as one hundred and fifty persons, who uniting with the largest company of the nation that had yet come on from New York, established the tribal home within the present Oneida reservation.

The Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians settled on the shores of Lake Winnebago, at that day a part of Brown county, but as Outagamie was set off in 1851, the later history of these Indians belongs to that county.

Eleazer Williams, whose claim to being a son of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, developed under the fostering influence of Reverend John Hanson into a decided cult, was one of the most interesting and remarkable men who came here at an early day. A descendant of the New England captive, Eunice Williams, who was carried off by savages after the fatal massacre at Deerfield in 1704, there is enough mystery enshrouding Eleazer's early years to render him a fit subject for romance, and his story has been rehearsed in narrative, drama and historical writings. At the time of his advent into the little settlement on Fox river, he was something over thirty years old, and although characterized by the brisk New Englanders of Menomineeville as an idle, untrustworthy fellow, had during preceding years accomplished more and seen more of real life than had the majority of his critics. His father, Thomas Williams, was a protégé of the English Tories in New York and later became the trusted friend of the Americans during the Revolution.

The mother of Thomas Williams, Eunice, who as a child of three with her brother, John, had been carried to the wilds of Canada by the Indians of that region, never returned to her New England family. Her brother was redeemed, and one after another the captives who had been driven like sheep from the little town of Deerfield on that terrible night in 1704, found their way back to their native country, but Eunice Williams through one delay after another remained with her adopted parents among the Indian tribes. They were kind to her and made much of her. She grew up in Indian fashion, in the free life of a Canadian forest, was baptized into the Roman Catholic church, and married finally a young chief of the St. Regis tribe. Her New England relatives never gave her up; they followed her fortunes with interest; she was visited from time to time by different members of the family who urged her to return with them



PEACE MEDAL GIVEN TO THE ONEIDAS
Property of Albert C. Gray



to Massachusetts, but she could now choose for herself and she steadily refused to give up her church and her people. She did finally consent to make a visit in New England, and there the large Williams connection surrounded her and begged her not to return, but she had grown to love the Indian life; in fact, knew no other, and the narrow round of a small Puritan town was little to her liking. She was bound by marriage ties and by her children and was happy in her Caughnawaga home.

On the wide St. Lawrence lies the Indian town of St. Regis. It is on the extreme northern edge of the New York boundary. The river is very broad at this part and is dotted by beautiful wooded islands.

A scattered hamlet of Indian cabins clings to the stony, sparsely cultivated hillside which slopes to the blue majestic river. On the one straggling, rocky street stands the parish church and home of the resident priest, picturesque, irregular structures, and around the priest's house extends a fine well cultivated garden. The parish register still holds many of the Williams name, for in this encampment of Mohawk Indians Thomas Williams lived in later life. The place was familiar to Eleazer during the years following the War of 1812, and at Hogsburg, six miles distant, he spent his last days.

All this portion of country was occupied by the St. Regis tribe when Thomas Williams lived among them. The little parish church at Caughnawaga, some miles farther down the St. Lawrence, holds the names of Thomas' children, who one after the other were brought to the priest to be baptized. Only one among these is missing; that of Eleazer or "Lazar," as he was called among his French and Indian associates. He was a handsome lad, and when at the age of fourteen his New England kinsmen wrote asking that Lazar and his brother John be sent them to be educated, the Indian mother gladly gave consent. The two boys were placed with Nathaniel Ely of Longmeadow and for a year lived together there, but at the end of that time John was eager to return home, and Eleazer was left alone under the tuition of Mr. Ely.

The boy was looked upon by his teacher and the Massachusetts relatives as promising in every way. His journal kept at this time shows no evidence of insincerity or double dealing; just the daily record of a young fellow eager to see all he could of what there was of interest in the life about him. Because of his adaptability and keen observation he was selected by General Macomb during the War of 1812 to carry official messages for the army stationed around Plattsburg—an exciting and somewhat dangerous position, which he filled to the entire satisfaction of the general. Williams was at this time much with his father, who also was employed by the American troops.

Eleazer drifted at the close of the war into mission work among the Oneida Indians in New York. The "People of the Stone" were exceptionally intelligent and were well organized and orderly, although a warlike tribe. They were delighted with Williams who came among them as schoolmaster, catechist and lay reader in 1816.

The son of a chief of the Iroquois nation, he appealed to their national pride and gained moreover great influence through his familiarity with their language and customs. They were proud of this handsome, agreeable, talented young man of their own people, and even after long years of misunderstandings and misappropriation of funds it was said in Wisconsin that he could

"make the Indians believe that black was white" if so he chose. To him was entrusted the superintendence of republishing the translation of the scriptures in the Mohawk language made nearly a century before, and the task was performed so well that he received high commendation from Bishop Hobart of the New York diocese.

When the scheme was proposed of removing westward the Oneidas and other tribes of the Iroquois nation Williams undoubtedly hoped to form in this new and extended territory a confederation similar to that effected by the five nations in early New York, and of this powerful league he dreamed that he might become the head chief—the sachem. In this he was encouraged by the Ogden Land Company, eager to get possession of the rich tract belonging to the New York tribes. There was however a part of the Oneidas who were resolutely opposed to the plan of removal and these refused to accept the treaty of 1822.

While the Oneidas were still encamped at Little Rapids during the winter of 1822-23, Williams and his coadjutor, A. G. Ellis, lived in exceeding comfort in the agency house in Ashwaubenon. Through the courtesy of Colonel Ninian Pinckney in command at Fort Howard, Williams was permitted to occupy this government building free of charge. The buildings were somewhat extensive and very comfortable, with a large room suitable for school purposes, where for a brief time a school was conducted by Ellis, consisting for the most part of the children from the fort and a few of the French youngsters, none of the Indians, although the school was especially designed for them, being under the supervision of the Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society. Williams at this time also conducted regular religious services at Fort Howard, for there was no resident chaplain there, and not a place of worship or priest in the whole settlement.

The school came abruptly to an end by the decision of Williams to marry one of his pupils, a young girl belonging to an early French family, Madeline Jourdain.

The home of the Jourdains was still standing in 1880, a low log structure picturesque in its odd proportions, and occupying lots 4, 5 and 6 on block 6. The Joseph Jourdain tract confirmed by Commissioner Lee in 1821, contained about two acres and fronted on Fox river. When the plat of Astor was made in 1835, the Astors had no title to this tract and it was not platted. It is now a part of Astor but in all land transfers is described by metes and bounds. Diagonally across the river lived Judge Jacques Porlier, and from this house the magistrate was summoned on an evening in March, 1823, to perform the marriage ceremony for Eleazer Williams and Madeline Jourdain. The little bride was only fourteen, and it was said in the gossip of the time, not a willing party to the contract. Judge Porlier had known the Williams family long before in Canada, when Williams was a child and living at St. Regis with his father and mother.

Not long after the marriage of Madeline Jourdain the Menominee nation to which she belonged deeded to the handsome girl as a wedding dower a large tract of land on Fox river, including the first camping place of the Oneidas at Little Rapids. Here Williams built a comfortable log house and lived for many years. His connection with the Oneidas continued until about



THE OLD JOURDAIN HOUSE



TABLET TO FATHER ALLOUEZ AND MISSION OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER



1843, when it was definitely severed, the chiefs repudiating him finally as their representative in any negotiation. Yet the feeling toward him among his own people was quite different from the decidedly prejudiced view of his character taken by many of the white settlers at Green Bay. The old chief Skenandoah, the last great chief of the Oneidas, said that "Williams was a fine man, a very fine man, but his pocket had no bottom." He was simply a child in business dealings, with much of the Indian love of display and rather large talk, but he was absolutely temperate in an age when dissipation ran riot.

In appearance Williams was distinguished and dignified. Mrs. John Kinzie, of Fort Dearborn, who met him in 1830, says he looked more like a Spaniard than an Indian, with the courtly manners of a born Frenchman. Reverend Franklin R. Haff, of Oshkosh, a prominent clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal church, though not liking Williams' shifty methods, remembered him as a most agreeable companion, and it is probable that had Prince de Joinville never visited Green Bay and brought Williams into prominence through his attentions, the fine looking, easy going Creole would have passed his life peacefully and uneventfully in his home at Little Kakalin.

Of that princely tour through the northwest, following it was said that of De Joinville's father, Louis Phillippe, over fifty years previous, much has been written. Williams met the Prince at Mackinac and came with him to Green Bay in the summer of 1841. The quondam leader of the Oneida nation had been east on one of his many business trips, which consisted for the most part in a strenuous effort to get an appropriation for his work among the Indians. Casting aside all testimony as to the shock occasioned to Prince De Joinville by the marked resemblance of Williams to the family of Bourbon, it is certain that during the two days' trip from Mackinac the men were constantly together. On the arrival of the steamer "Columbia" at Green Bay, the prince immediately made his way with his party to the Astor House, which stood directly across the street from the steamer landing.

The arrival of a real prince in the little village of Green Bay was an exciting event. The dark, bearded, foreign looking men composing De Joinville's suite were eager to procure horses and pursue their journey southward, but remained over night at the comfortable hostelry and according to the statement made later by Williams it was during the evening that the important interview took

De Joinville and his secretary sent from France from time to time presents to Williams and his wife, and not long after the famous visit the story was made place, in which De Joinville informed the missionary to the Oneidas that he was the son of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette of France.

A rather stormy colloquy followed, the prince urging Williams to relinquish all claim to the French throne, which he refused to do. They seem, however, to have parted friends, and on the following day, mounted on a motley collection of ponies procured from the country around, the party took its departure. the subject of a widely read article, "Have we a Bourbon among us?" A book was later published entitled "The Lost Prince," setting forth Williams' claim and there was considerable controversy for and against. Williams himself, does not seem to have taken an active part in pushing his pretensions to the throne of France. To judge from his journal, kept from 1840 on, his days were passed in cultivating his farm on Fox river and in frequent visits to Green Bay and

Oneida, where he still had a following among the Indians. There is no record that he collected money under false pretences, but his methods were not approved by the Episcopal church; Bishop Kemper inhibited him from teaching or holding service, and he ceased to receive support as a priest by the Society of Missions.

The tract of land belonging to the Menominees and given by that nation to Mrs. Williams, was confirmed to Williams by letters patent from the president of the United States, bearing date of July 20, 1840. On April 25, 1844, Williams deeded this property, described in the legal paper as "13 chains above the old mill dam at the Rapids of Little Kakalin, containing about 4,800 acres," to William Eustis of Boston, "in the county of Suffolk and Commonwealth of Massachusetts," for the sum of one dollar and other considerations. On the twentieth of September of the same year another deed is recorded signed by Eleazer Williams and Mary H. Williams, his wife, conveying this same property to Amos A. Lawrence of Boston, Commonwealth of Massachusetts for the sum of \$1,697.80, and still another deed of land to Lawrence under the date of December 14, 1844, for which the Williamses received \$1,800. There is no record of any part of this being reserved for the use and the residence of Williams and his family; this was, however, probably arranged, for the house built by him and the fine bit of property surrounding it were occupied by Mrs. Williams up to the time of her death in 1886, and passed by will to her adopted daughter, Josephine Penny.

Lawrence University, the gift of Amos Lawrence to the people of Wisconsin, remains as a reminder of these old deeds of transfer, and the only written word by Williams on the subject of his descent from Louis XVI is a letter preserved for many years by Pierre Bernard Grignon, and copied by the authors of "Historic Green Bay" from the original document. "The intelligence I am now to give you is in accordance with the little hints I gave in our last interview which now prove too true. Am I the child of the most unfortunate parents? A descendant from one of the most unhappy potentates of Europe? The secret commissioners from Fr— have in a great measure confirmed it. Oh the unhappy and cruel fate of parents. Can you wonder, my friend, I am in distress—yea agony? The news has seized me with such poignant grief and sorrow as it would require with the tongue of an angel and the pen of a ready writer to describe my feelings. Where all this affair will end God only knows. Tremendous scenes may be before me, or it will end in peaceful and calm weather."

This letter was written on September 21, 1848, seven years after De Joinville's visit to Green Bay and Little Rapids, and five years previous to the publication in Putnam's magazine, of the bombshell, "Have we a Bourbon among us?" As one of the pretenders to the throne of France Williams' career was watched by the French government, and long after his death, when a son's child died, an official letter was received from France at Oshkosh, Wisconsin, demanding legal affidavit of the fact. (Rev. F. R. Haff.) The story that the unfortunate little dauphin of France did not die in the Temple prison in the year 1795, but was stolen by the royalists, carried to America and placed with the St. Regis Indians, is quite as plausible a fabrication as that brought forward by the other pretenders. Williams enjoyed for a number of years the notoriety brought him by the claim advanced of his royal descent, although he does not himself seem to have made much of the story. When visiting in New York, Boston and Washington, he received many flattering attentions, his polish of manner and

agreeable conversation giving plausibility to the theory of his distinguished antecedents.

In Williams' later life the church again took her whilom catechist and teacher under her wing, and provided for his support by giving him a house at Hogansburgh, New York, built, it is said, in imitation of a French chateau; he was also privileged to hold service in a large, barnlike structure that the Missionary society had erected there. The hamlet of Hogansburgh, isolated and off the line of any railway, is six miles from the St. Regis reservation, and there is constant intercourse between the two places, so that when Williams took up his work and residence in the little town, it was really a return to his native land. Here he died in 1858, and is buried in the graveyard at Hogansburgh. A masonic emblem is engraved upon the stone, which records him as a missionary to the Oneidas, but not as of blood royal.

The Williams log house at Little Rapids was dismantled and torn down, only the ruined remains standing in 1899 and a new frame house built on the site. The place after Mrs. Williams' death became a resort for collectors, who year after year gathered in the interesting household furnishings, which were exceptionally good. The table appointments were far removed from the contrivances often in use in frontier towns of that period. The dinner service was of old Staffordshire ware decorated in deep blue Chinese design. There were teacups of pink lustre, and others of opaque white were sprinkled with tiny knots of flowers in pale blue relief, and the tea was poured from a delightful teapot of most graceful shape in Britannia ware. A visit to the cobwebbed garret brought to light books and manuscripts reviving an interesting past, not of France, but of New England and the historic Williams family. There were old journals dating back to 1606, and sermons preached by distinguished Calvinistic divines a century and more ago. Among these papers were many relating to Williams' early life in New England; his journal during the war of 1812, and an enormous sheepskin bound volume of the "Book of Common Prayer," one of the most impressive reminders of the missionary's dignified position at an early day. Lettered on the fly leaf in beautiful text was the legend, "Presented to the Reverend Mr. Williams, Missionary to the Oneidas, by the Rector, Wardens and Vestry of King's Chapel in Boston."

The water power at Little Rapids has brought to it manufacturing plants and modern industry, but the romance of the place added to its beautiful situation is due to Eleazer Williams, not as a claimant and possible descendant of royalty, but as the grandson of a "New England captive," and whose life and characteristics made him one of the most interesting of early Wisconsin residents. Setting aside the natural prejudice of his associate, Albert G. Ellis, whose aim in coming to Green Bay was thwarted to a great extent by Williams' dilatory, slipshod methods, and his lack of business ability, there is no warrant for the rancorous estimate given of the man in later years. His pretensions, which, however, he never himself put forward, were of course ridiculed by his associates in every day life, but he received ample support for any boastful or arrogant assumption from his admirers in the east. It is recorded that while there he often signed his letters with the initials "L. C.," Louis Capet, the name of the unhappy dauphin. Eleazer forms a link between our Atlantic coast and western history, between old Deerfield with its formal traditions and the free life of Brown county.

at an early day. Visionary, unreliable, he in many ways reflected the character of the Bourbons far more decidedly than that of his New England kinsfolk, whose descendants it is said are fond of relating the varied incidents in the life of their Indian cousin.

The tall, imposing figure of Williams, his olive skin (not copper colored), his grave, almost melancholy countenance, his deferential, gracious manner, with a touch of French gayety illumining it, made him marked in any society. His plan of forming an Indian empire in the west was not so absurd in reality as it seems at first glance, for he was upheld in it by the Ogden Land Company, and Dr. Morse, in 1820, reports on it favorably, while hardly fifty years before Pontiac had accomplished the very league that Williams hoped to bring into existence for peaceful purposes rather than war, for civilization and quiet living rather than to send a firebrand throughout the Indian country. Executive force was missing, and there was lack of faith in himself and his airy schemes, no strong conviction in fact; a marked characteristic by the way, as shown in the journal of one of Williams' New England ancestors in 1665. Yet the people in the Fox river towns found him interesting while he lived among them, and the plain, unvarnished story of his life, leaving out possible royal pretensions, forms a vivid touch of color in the warp and woof of Wisconsin history.

"In regard to the removal of the New York Indians to the west, it was not a new subject to the Oneidas or the other branches of the confederates but this had been repeatedly discussed in their general councils since 1812."

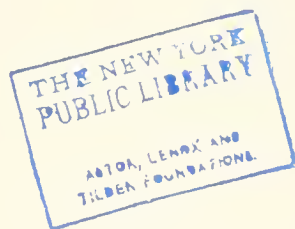
"This subject was actually in agitation among the Oneidas when the Rev. Dr. Morse made his appearance at their Canton."

Williams says that he was not prepared to favor the design. "It appeared to me that the idea of the philanthropist was vast and sublime and very difficult in its execution. I had critically surveyed the situation of the Oneidas, I must confess I was led to believe with some of them that in order to save them from entire ruin there must be a change either in the place of residence or their morals." Williams went to Washington with the Reverend Jedidiah Morse with many letters of introduction from Bishop Hobert and others. "I was kindly entertained by President Monroe and the Secretary of war and by several members of congress by whose polite invitation I was often a guest to their rich tables. Among others I was noticed by the celebrated John Randolph, of Virginia in whose company I enjoyed much. It was arranged that we were to take an exploring tour to the west the ensuing spring and summer, a certain number of the six nations, St. Regis and Stockbridge Indians were to accompany me."

He writes of private parties who had a claim to the Seneca lands and of course were very anxious to take possession of what they supposed belonged to them. "The most powerful and who have appeared the most conspicuous among these was that which was known as Ogden Land Company; that you may understand I will here state in short how that land company came to have those Indian lands which was afterward the subject so long in negotiation between them. The charters granted by the crown of Great Britain to the colonies of Massachusetts and New York conflicted as to boundaries and both colonies claimed the territory west of a meridian line passing through or near the Seneca lake and within the present limits of the state of New York. By an amicable adjustment between the two states in the year 1786, Massachusetts



THE ROAD TO THE WILLIAMS PLACE



released to New York the sovereignty and governmental control over the territory and New York surrendered to Massachusetts the right of sale subject to the Indian title and the right to extinguish the Indian title in her own way. Not many years after this period Massachusetts sold to private individuals her pre-emption right to the whole country reserving that power of guardianship over the Indians which the old states have ever exercised within their limits. In this way and for this reason it is that Massachusetts has been represented in all the transactions with the Seneca and Tuscarora Indians. The Company as purchasers from that state holds the exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title whenever the Indians shall be induced to surrender the possession and occupancy of the land.

"Reports had reached Detroit that Colonel Bowyer, United States agent for Green Bay had actually purchased for the government the very tract of land which the New York Indians intended to negotiate with their brethren in that quarter. The agent they supposed would not have purchased without special instruction from government and suspected the government of double dealing. The whole party was extremely anxious to be in Green Bay, but as there was no direct communication immediately to effect this, it was therefore finally with great reluctance given up of going thither this season. Had Lieut. Gov. Woodbridge been disposed to aid us as was in his power with the use of the revenue cutter to transport us to Green Bay, we should have visited this season that place as we intended. Some days previous to our departure from Detroit Rev. Dr. Morse returned from Green Bay who confirmed the report we had heard viz.: that the United States agent, Colonel Bowyer had purchased a tract of land bordering on the mouth of the Fox River. The real chiefs, says Rev. Dr. Morse of the nation were so decidedly opposed to the sale of this land (a tract of forty miles square) intersected by Fox River from its mouth upward that they refused to attend the treaty at the invitation of the agent, who in consequence was constrained of his own authority to create chiefs to sign his treaty. The president on hearing of these facts laid the treaty aside and it was not ratified."

The deputies were not able to leave Buffalo for the upper lakes till the 9th of July, 1821. When on board of the steamboat of Walk-in-Water it was found we were 16 persons, representing the whole of the New York tribe. Here most unexpectedly I met my old friend Colonel Pinckney with several of his officers and two companies of his regiment on his way to Green Bay to assume the command of the military post at that place. "At Detroit they were obliged to wait and were disappointed not to see Gov. Cass who had left for Chicago to attend an Indian treaty. We here met Reverend Doctor Richard who may be truly said a learned ecclesiastic. After having our patience almost exhausted waiting for the boat we were finally enabled on Tuesday, July 31, to leave Detroit and found ourselves on board, of Walk-in-Water on way to Green Bay. A great harmony prevailed among the passengers, all seemed to enjoy the voyage. We had heard much of the island of Michilimackinac, of its beauty and majestic appearance, and our interest was gratified on the 3d of August. At nine o'clock we landed amidst the roar of cannon from the fort and the boat. On the beach we saw the encampment of the Chippewas, Ottawas and Foxes or Outagamies the most warlike brave and ferocious of all the Indian tribes in

the west. About eleven o'clock we were once more on our way. . . . We saw the fires of red men upon the islands and heard their morning songs. . . . In the midst of our gratification and delight which the scenery on the borders of Green Bay afforded us, on the 3d of August, we finally entered into the Fox River and at one o'clock landed opposite Fort Howard. 'Here we are,' said one of the New York chiefs, 'all things appear to be new and strange yet I hope, on reflection that we are in the Indian country, we shall soon reconcile ourselves to all that may come our way.' This may be considered the most western point or the ultima thule of the steamboat navigation of the great American lakes. We were introduced to Mr. Pierre Grignon, a French gentleman and one of the Indian traders, by whom we were accommodated with a comfortable house for the whole of our party. Mr. Trowbridge and myself were invited in most friendly manner to Mr. Grignon's table while we were in the place. Mr. Lawe, another gentleman of the same profession, invited us to make our quarters at his house, which we politely declined as we had already hired a house for our accommodation. What a sight when I first landed on the shores of the north-western territory did I behold, hundreds of wretched heathen presented themselves to our view, the greater part of whom were entirely naked except a piece of cloth around their middle, and an old blanket around their shoulders. Wretched as their condition is they appeared to be contented to live from year to year on what they can take from the rivers, lakes and forests.

"To The Honorable Congress of the United States in the Senate and House of Representatives convened. We, the people of that portion of the New York Indians lately removed from New York and settled upon lands purchased by us from our Brethern the Menominie here, and confirmed by the president of the United States,—beg leave humbly to represent to your Honorable Body, that one George Johnson has laid claim to a portion of the lands . . . pretends to have acquired his claim in validity of a purchase made of one Pierre Carboneau." *Diary of Eleazer Williams, MSS. owned by F. W. Taylor, Green Bay.*

(References for Chapter XI: Morse, Report on Indian Tribes; A. G. Ellis, Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. 8; Hansen, Lost Prince; Bloomfield, Oneidas; Records County Register's Office; Williams MSS., F. W. Taylor; Laws on Prince or Creole; Merrill, People of the Stone.)

CHAPTER XII

MEN AND MANNERS OF 1830

In the year 1830 the town of Navarino was laid out by Daniel Whitney. It extended north from the center of the block between Doty and Walnut streets and included the land on the north side of Devil river. For three or four years it made but little progress and was merely a town on paper owing to its low, swampy location, but Whitney having unshaken confidence in its possibility as a commercial point for this whole section of country, finally saw his dream realized and a city planted here. The land was originally a dense and dark forest of pine, tamarack and undergrowth well tenanted by bull-frogs and mosquitoes, and on the river shore there was during the summer a group of wigwams inhabited by Menominees, who camped there to fish and hunt.

In 1824 Judge Arndt's house was the northern limit of settlement on the east side of Fox river; but one lone log house stood on that section of land afterward known as Navarino and which forms a large part of the present Green Bay. This small log building stood about on the corner of Washington and Cherry streets, the site of the Citizens' bank building and was occupied as a grocery. Henry S. Baird, in describing conditions when he took up his residence in Navarino in 1833, says: "I well remember how indignant the proprietor of the town (Mr. Whitney) felt toward me on one occasion for having repeated a statement made to me by another person relative to the nature of the ground on which the town stood. This statement was neither more nor less than that my informant, being the owner of two horses, had turned them loose to graze at night and when he went in search of them the next morning he found them mired, stuck in the mud and unable to extricate themselves on the ground between Cherry and Walnut streets on the east side of Adams. I was not then a property holder in the city. In 1835 I removed to Navarino from Shantytown, and in 1836 built the house on Main street where I now reside. At that time there were a few scattered buildings east of Adams street,—Main street was in the swamp, and it was with great exertion on the part of both men and beast that the material for my building could be conveyed to the spot, through stumps and roots, interspersed with many soft spots. All east, north and south of this point was in a state of nature, and it was not until a later period that Main and Jefferson streets were thoroughly opened and made passable.

The town of Astor, now known as the south ward of the city of Green Bay, was opened and laid out in the year 1835. The proprietors were John Jacob Astor, Ramsay Crooks and Robert Stuart, principals of that well-known and once powerful corporation, "The American Fur Company." The land was originally owned by John Lawe and the Grignon family. Together with other real estate, it was taken in payment of balance due from the old Green Bay com-

pany to the former company, the debt having accrued by loss in the Indian trade—for in this business it generally happened that the small traders who purchased their goods at high prices, after years of toil and privation in the trade, came out with nothing,—leaving to the great monopoly the lion's share of the profits. The consideration received by the former owners was trifling compared with the present value of the property. The venerable old log house and garden, formerly occupied by the hospitable and highly respected veteran pioneer, the late Judge Lawe, stood a little north of the house now occupied by P. B. Grignon, at the termination of Adams street.

Of the settlers in Navarino, Henry S. Baird and his wife were among the first in the new town. They had only lived in their log house four months when it was sold for a large price, and the Baird family then lived according to Mrs. Baird in a "small log house with a red door which stood where the American house (Minahan building) now stands. There was nothing but the broad street between us and the beautiful river."

Daniel Whitney was the leading man in a commercial way of the Fox river valley for many years, his saw mills and extensive landed property involving much inspection and money investment. He also built the shot tower at Helena, Wisconsin. The two Irwins, Robert and Alexander, were also exceedingly progressive and practical business men, leaders in town and state government, and in social life as well. William Dickenson of De Pere and its first American settler, was another pioneer who identified himself with the business life and growth of that town. A man foremost in all improvement was John P. Arndt, and his important position on the town and borough boards gave him weight and influence. By the year 1830 a beginning had been made in Brown county along many lines and this period may be called the second inaugural of civilization which was begun by the Jesuit Fathers one hundred and fifty years earlier.

When Father André gathered the little children of the savages and taught them lively French songs in which the new faith and ethics were simply told the people of Wisconsin, aboriginal though they were, gained the first influence for good that comes with even the most rudimentary education. The teaching of these early fathers of the Jesuit order, while intermittent and discouraging to a degree, must in the aggregate have accomplished something, not perhaps along technical lines of learning, but in the influence which results from association by the untaught and undisciplined with cultivated and studious minds. The early French settlers depended solely upon this catechetical instruction for their children and no mention is made of any school master or tutor until 1791, when Jacques Porlier, an educated youth employed as clerk by Pierre Grignon, well known as a fur trader and the son-in-law of Charles Langlade, acted also as tutor for Grignon's children.

In 1817, a French gentleman, Monsieur Carron and his wife were detained in the hamlet for a few months on their way to St. Louis and were induced to open in the interim a boarding and day school in a house belonging to Judge Lawe. This was the first regular school organized in Brown county. Later in the year a petition written in French and English and signed by Major Whistler, Louis Grignon, John Lawe and others was circulated, wherein it was stated that Thomas S. Johnson of New York city, proposed to open a school or seminary near the fort for teaching reading, writing, arithmetic and the English language.

Thirty-three children from the fort and village attended the Green Bay "seminary," but as barely one year had elapsed since the first coming of the Americans, feeling between the children as well as among the older people was antagonistic. The oddly dressed little natives were brought across the river each morning for the day's schooling, but the difference in dress and breeding were constant cause for dissension; the French youngsters jeered the "Bostonians" or Yankees, who, no doubt, returned insults in kind and fierce squabbles resulted. The cost of tuition in this pioneer school was five dollars per quarter.

This effort at education proving unsuccessful, nothing further was done until 1820, when one Jean Baptiste St. Jacobs essayed to instruct the youth of this vicinity. An agreement drawn up between him and his patrons stipulates that the latter are to pay "twenty dollars for one child, and quantity of vegetables," a schoolroom to be provided free of expense. The year following Mr. St. Jacobs bewails his sad lot in a letter written to John Lawe, saying: "I have twenty four Scholars, but I suppose half will pay and the others will not pay very well," and confesses that he, himself, is "a poor reatch." After a vain attempt to make both ends meet St. Jacobs abandoned the school, writing to Lawe from his retreat on the Menominee river that had he "been incourage to keep a school at the Bay I should be there yet, but one Gallon Pease, 15 lbs. Pork per Month was not anueff to supp me. * * * I could not make a Livelywood on 1 Gallon Pease 15 lbs. Pork per Month." It must be said that St. Jacobs taught a French school, and he was doubtless more proficient in the common branches of learning in that language than in English.

At a meeting of the citizens of Green Bay in 1821 it was resolved:

1st. That a subscription should be set on foot and measures taken for the erection of a suitable building for a schoolhouse;

2d. That when a tutor shall be obtained and instruction commenced the subject of religion as it regards the difference of sects shall be excluded from the school, as it is presumed the subscribers will be of various denominations of Christians;

3d. That the erection of the building and superintendence of the school rules established be assigned to four persons chosen by a majority of the subscribers.

4th. That every person having subscribed and paid five dollars shall be entitled to a vote touching any matter relative to the school or schoolhouse to be established.

5th. That Messrs. John Lawe, Jacques Porlier, George Johnson and Louis Grignon be requested to take the necessary steps to carry these resolutions into effect and that Mr. John Lawe be requested to receive such pecuniary subscriptions as may be made in materials or labor. Signed, John Biddle.

By 1827 it was manifest that comparatively few Indians of the New York tribes had immigrated westward and that fewer still had any purpose of coming. The reservation, twelve miles from Green Bay, had been set off for their use in 1825, and here a settlement had been formed but there were constant warring factions not only rousing discontent between the first and second Christian parties and the pagan party among the Oneidas, but also fostering dissension among the Menominees and resistance to the ratification of the treaty made by them. Williams was not a man strong enough to constitute himself a leader among these diverse factions and to bring harmony out of the muddle, and accordingly in

1827, an attempt was made in this direction by government. A treaty known as that of Little Butte des Morts was made with the Menominees by Governor Lewis Cass and Thomas L. McKinney, long an agent for the Indian tribes in Michilimackinac and the Green Bay region. In this treaty even the manifestly just claims of the New York Indians were almost entirely ignored. In the contention which arose against the ratification of this treaty Eleazer Williams appeared before President Adams as the representative of the St. Regis tribe.

Strong influence was brought to bear in maintaining the rights of the Oneidas and the other tribes by senators from New York, for these Indians were still regarded as wards of that state; therefore, in 1830, the United States government essayed yet again to adjust the critical situation by sending to Green Bay three commissioners, General Erastus Root, James McCall and J. T. Mason, to confer with the disgruntled tribes.

For the attitude of the New York Indians McCall seemed to hold Williams in part at least responsible, "he has the advantage of a liberal education and is said to be a cunning man, and claims in right of his wife a large tract of land."

McCall's journal kept with careful notes of the negotiations and also of the country and inhabitants is a diverting bit of historical data. "August 10th, 1830, Arrived in Fox river—Green Bay fort—about ten o'clock. Landded first at Shanty Town, * * * left some passengers and goods, then dropped down to Judge John P. Arndt's. * * * Navirino is the name of the village opposite the fort. * * * The steamboat got under way at 7 o'clock p. m. to return to Detroit." A bateau with a voyageur crew was furnished for the commissioners by Judge Arndt and they proceeded up the river, McCall commenting on the way on all that occurred. "Mr. Eleazer Williams is a half blood St. Regis, with a half Blood Menominie wife. He is paid by government \$250 annually as chaplain for the Oneida Indians. I expect he will make us difficulty in satisfying the New York Indians, in making them believe their claim is more extensive than it is. Note: it is common in this region for the business men to marry those half Blood Ladies."

The commissioners stopped at the mission house near where Kaukauna stands today, and where the settlement of the Stockbridges began on the east side of the river. The Presbyterian organization at this place was the first to hold service in Brown county or Wisconsin, and was under the supervision of Rev. Cutting Marsh. McCall reports it as in most prosperous condition, and here the party halted for a day before proceeding to the village of the Winnibagoes at Doty Island.

Four Legs, head chief of the Winnebagoes for many years, received the commissioners on the shores of Lake Winnebago, "seated on his Mat cross-legged, in all the majesty of an Asiatic prince. After a profound silence he arose from his seat and shook hands with each of us." Four Legs' speech was given in the Winnebago tongue and interpreted by a chief named "The Duck" in the Chipewewa to Connor, who as interpreter for the commissioners in turn translated it to them. The difference in dialect among Indians of this region made it especially difficult to communicate with them, the Menominees not understanding that of the Winnebagoes or the Oneidas and vice versa. Four Legs said: "When the Wappenackys (Oneidas) came to this country I was the first to take them by hand. They asked us for a small piece of land to raise bread for their children.



DANIEL BREAD, HEAD CHIEF OF THE ONEIDAS



At first few came, but since, they have been coming every year in great numbers, as though they would claim the whole country in spite of us."

Arrangements having been made with the Stockbridges and Winnebagoes for a council to be held on Tuesday, August 24th, in a council house which Judge Arndt had covenanted to build for this purpose near his house and close to the river, the commissioners made the return trip to Green Bay. On the day appointed the council convened in a "Bowery covered with Boards," as McCall describes it, and with capacity for five hundred people. On Sunday the first installment arrived; fourteen canoe loads came down the river and four or five up the bay. On Monday, the twenty-third, a fleet of sixty canoes loaded with Indians came to port, augmenting the number to about 1,200. At night revelling and drunkenness began, and the commissioners found it impossible to enforce the law prohibiting the sale of liquor to the Indians. S. C. Stambaugh, the Indian agent at Green Bay, acted as secretary for the council, Connor as interpreter, and there were delegates from the Oneida, Stockbridge, Tuscarora and Brothertown Indians, "private gentlemen, French and a motley crew of mixed and full blood Indians * * * Invited Four Legs, a Winnebago chief, to dine with sundry gentlemen. This man about forty years of age is the most interesting man in his appearance and deportment. Speaks in his own tongue fluently and forcible. In short, he is a great man."

The names of the great chiefs attending this famous and final council between the western tribes and the New York Indians were: For the St. Regis—Rev. Eleazer Williams; Brothertown—William Dick, N. Towles and John Johnson. Oneidas—John Anthony, Daniel Bread, Henry Powless, Comly Stevans, Ned Atsequitt. Stockbridge—John Metoxen, John W. Quinney, B. Kunkipot, Jacob Cheaks and Andrew Miller.

The Winnebago chiefs were: Hoot-Schoop or Four Legs; Shouunk-tshunk or Black Wolf; Wheank-Kaw or Big Duck; Monk-kaw-kaw.

The Menominee chiefs were: Oshkosh—The Brave; Carron—Josette; Pono-we-gon-na—Big Soldier; Kaush-kaw-no-nawe—Bear's Grease; Pe-wit-ta-nit—The Rain; Wa-ba-se—The Hare; Mha-nanon-pork—The Wave; Tau-kau-mha-ki-chin—Little Chief; Tche-nawn-pau-ma—All looks upon.

The Menominees clamored that they should be allowed an interpreter and chose that one of the Grignons be given the position. A French woman acted as interpreter for the Winnebagoes, and Connor translated the various dialects into English. By Friday, McCall records that 1,740 Indians in all had arrived. The Winnebagoes and Menominees through their chiefs, Four Legs and Oshkosh, absolutely repudiated any treaty prior to that of 1827, declaring that not one inch more of land would they cede to their brethren from the east and in this decision they were upheld by their tribes.

Meantime private dissensions arose between the commissioners, Root and Mason. "Agreed to invite some of the officers from the fort and some private gentlemen to dinner and about fourteen chiefs. * * * About the time of dining some words passed between General Root and Mr. Mason in relation to the invitations to dinner, some of the company present refused to sit at the table, and some very hard words passed to the mortification and dissatisfaction of all present, and the whole was confusion." In this exhibit of choleric temper and dissipation, among undisciplined white and red men, the conduct of the Oneidas

seems to have been admirable. Calm, sober, unruffled under the guidance of their great chiefs, Bread and Anthony, they, and indeed all the eastern tribes seemed part of another race from the wild Winnebagoes and crafty Menominees. "At night a band of the Winnebagoes appeared painted all colors—not only their faces but their bodies—before the door of the house where we boarded, encouraged by some, and treated by others with whiskey. They held the war dance and kept it up until ten o'clock at night, with all their disfigured and distorted countenances—naked except breech clouts. All with some kind of warlike weapon and horrid yell made them resemble so many infernals."

At the end of a week there seemed some prospect of agreement among the contestants. Each day the commissioners and their retinue met in council. After the quarrel between the principals "public table" was discontinued, but the chiefs were still invited and those among the white men who were connected with the council, and it remains a marvel how this great company could have been furnished with excellent meals day after day even with the efficient management of Judge Arndt. The large concourse of Indians with the exception of the chiefs, camped all along the river shore to the number of seventeen hundred, in wigwams or conical houses which they constructed quickly and effectively by driving stakes in the ground, young, easily bent saplings,—then tying these strongly at the top, and covering the whole with woven mats of puckaway grass.

In this encampment of nearly two thousand savages, with white men passing among them and instigating them to evil doing, there were constant brawls and outbreaks. The whole affair recalls the days when Nicholas Perrot led his great bands of Indians to Montréal for the annual turning in of peltries. One of the soldiers from Fort Howard placed as guard over a field of potatoes near the Indian encampment got drunk and immediately proceeded to stab Big Soldier, a harmless old chief of the Menominees; this circumstance added to the clamor and caused much ill feeling, although the wounded brave's anger was appeased by the gift of a blanket, a shirt, and some tobacco, 11 pounds of pork, 1 barrel of flour and 3 bushels of corn.

The ultimatum of the assembled chiefs among the Winnebagoes and Menominees was that they would allow the New York Indians land extending from the Little Butte des Morts on the northwest side of Fox river, Brown county, to the head of the rapids; then north about thirty miles and ten miles and a half wide, making a strip in all of about 201,600 acres of land. This was something less than one-third of the amount asked by the New York Indians. "At evening the Winnebagoes held another war dance in which the head chief, Four Legs, displayed great activity."

The New York Indians finally agreed to accept this proposition as they said they desired to live in peace with their brethren the Winnebagoes and Menominees, both tribes declaring emphatically that they would give no more, "they would not, and as Four Legs, who was speaking made his last expression he seized his sword as though he would go to war first." Then came the settling up of expenses incurred and the signing of necessary papers. The whole cost of this great concourse was \$2,664.98, this amount being paid largely for pork, flour and corn to feed the 1,740 Indians in the encampment and the followers among the white residents. A surveyor, A. G. Ellis, was sent out immediately

to make the necessary surveys of the land deeded, and McCall made an attempt to visit the Oneida settlement at Duck Creek but got mired in an ash swamp, with difficulty rescued his horse and returned without reaching his destination. He saw enough of the country, however, to convince him that the Oneidas had fared well in the treaty just concluded.

Samuel C. Stambaugh was appointed Indian agent at Green Bay by President Jackson in 1831, succeeding Major Brevoort, and in the fall of that year took a delegation of Indians on his own responsibility to treat with government for a cession of a portion of their lands. Later the treaty made at that time, February 9, 1831, called the "Stambaugh treaty," was repudiated by the Menominees although from their request that he be the person selected to lead them to the Black Hawk war it might be thought that personally he was a favorite with them. Stambaugh's report on "The quality and condition of Wisconsin Territory, 1831," made in compliance with instructions from the war department is an interesting and valuable document, a minute description of the country, its population and characteristics.

"Green Bay settlement (Menomineeville) in the township of Green Bay is the seat of justice for Brown county; and is situated immediately at the head of the bay in $44^{\circ} 40m$ of N. Latitude, and 79° of W. Longitude. It embraces a tract of country commencing at a point about half a mile above the entrance of Fox river and extends up and along the river on both sides, six miles running back on each side, three miles so as to form a square containing a township or twenty-three thousand and forty acres of land." This included the settlements at De Pere, Menomineeville and Navarino, but later in this report there is mention of "Bay Settlement" made up at that time of French and Creoles, who had cleared and cultivated several hundred acres of land, and which was the only white settlement on the Green Bay peninsula outside of the confirmed claims. "Between this settlement and the Green Bay settlement there is a very extensive prairie, which is very valuable as a meadow on account of its convenience to those settlements. The Mountain or ledge of rocks which extends from the east side of Lake Winnebago the whole length of the Peninsula to Green Bay approaches this settlement at the nearest point * * * within a distance of six miles. * * * A very conspicuous promontory called the Red Banks * * * at the highest point is about a hundred feet above the level of the bay. The ground on these banks presents the appearance of having once been under cultivation, probably by the early French settlers." (Vol. 15.) The corn fields commented on by Stambaugh dated back much farther than the coming of the first French settlers, and were those planted by the Indians in prehistoric times. The Indian fort which crowned Red Banks was the one constructed by the Winnebagoes (Puants) when entrenched upon this conspicuous promontory they defied for perhaps centuries,—the length of time can only be computed from legendary sources, the other and less powerful tribes about Green Bay. Around the heights of Red Banks cling many Indian legends relating to the first coming of the Winnebagoes to their "Garden of Eden," and to the great and decisive battle which many years after depleted the tribe so that they were never again as strong in numbers and influence as before.

Legend of the Red Banks, by Charles D. Robinson, as related by Onoka, a Menominee squaw of great age and intelligence:

"Upon a high bank, on the eastern shore of Green Bay, about twelve miles north of the town, is an interesting earthwork, bearing a singular resemblance to military defences of modern times. Its walls, at one time, must have been some seven feet in height, or thereabouts, having a ditch or moat on the outside, and provided on its three exposed sides with regular bastions. Its fourth side fronts on a precipice of perhaps one hundred feet in height, whose base is washed by the waters of the bay; and leading down this steep bank impassable at any other immediate point, is what seems to have been once a protected passage cut into the clay, and perhaps covered with boughs of trees. This was the communication from the fort to the water; and standing here now, it needs but little fancy to see those grim warriors of the olden time filing down their covered way, with less of the pomp, and more of the nerve of the mailed knights of feudal days, issuing from their rock-bound castles.

"In, or near the center, are two parallel walls, about twenty-five feet long, which were probably united at the ends, as there is some appearance of it now. It is very difficult to imagine the use of this part of the structure, unless it was to protect the valuables, or such inmates of the fort as were incapable of aiding its defense. Had the place been constructed in these days, it would have made a magazine of the most approved kind. A few rods to the north, outside the walls, and on the very brink of the precipice, is what was once apparently, a look-out—a mound of earth, a few feet high, now half carried off by the wearing away of the cliff. To the southward and eastward of the fort occupying some hundreds of acres, were the planting grounds of the people who inhabited the place. Large trees now overgrow the ground, yet the furrows are as distinctly marked as if made but last year, and are surprisingly regular. The whole work is admirably placed, and would do credit to the forethought and judgment so necessary in correct military positions of modern times."

This is the only ancient earthwork, it is believed, which possesses an undoubted history or tradition, and that is but the history of its fall. When, and by whom it was built, there is no story—nothing but the persistent declarations of the Indians of the vicinity that it was the work of red men long, long ago. The tradition which follows, is related by O Kee-Wah, or The Sea, an Indian woman living now near the Red river, on the eastern shore of Green Bay, and who, beyond doubt, is upwards of one hundred years of age. She sat over a wigwam fire, only a few nights ago and related this story, while the light of other days faintly illumined her face as she marked out in the ashes the plan of the campaign; and as she told of the long days of desperate fighting, in which her ancestors engaged, her withered arms seemed nerved with the strength of youth, like the old soldier, who

—“Shouldered his crutch,

And fought his battles o’er again.”

“It was long ago,” said O Kee-Wah—“I was so high”—placing her hand about three feet from the ground, “when my grandfather told me the story. The Sauks and the Ontagamies lived in the old fort at Red Banks. They had lived there a long time, and had their planting grounds there, and ruled the whole country. The forests eastward were full of deer, the waters of the bay were full

of fish, and they possessed the whole. We (the Menominees) lived over the bay (at the Menominee river), and we sent down the lakes, inviting the other tribes to come up and help us drive out the Sauks and the Outagamies. They came in canoes—the Chippewas, and Pottawatomies, and Ottawas, and many more. You see how wide this bay is; their canoes stretched half way across; the bay was half full of canoes, and each canoe was full of fighting men; they sent their greatest braves. They landed here at the Red river, after coming across from Menominee, and for two miles along the beach their canoes were so thick that no more could be crowded in. From here they all went, in the night to the Red Banks. They had bows and arrows, and the heads of the arrows were of flint. Silently they paddled along until they came to the fort, and then the canoes were stationed all along in front, out of reach of arrows from the shore. A part of the warriors stayed in the canoes, and a part went on shore and formed a line around the fort, so that, with those on shore and those on the water, it was completely surrounded, and there was no escape for the people inside. So cautiously was all this done, that of all within that fated fort, but one discovered it. A young woman, whose parents lived within the walls, had that day been given, against her will, to be the wife of one of the Sauks living in the immediate vicinity. In the night she ran away from his wigwam and went home passing on her way the lines of the besiegers. Rushing into the fort, she awakened her family, with the cry, 'we are all dead.' The father laughed at her story, and laid down to sleep again.

"Just before daylight the battle began, and it lasted many days. The besieged fought bravely, standing in the trenches within the walls, and the blood was up to their ankles. They had no water, for the supply was cut off by the party on the beach. They tried in every way to obtain it. Vessels attached to cords were let down to the water by night, but the cords were cut before they could be drawn up. 'Come down and drink,' cried out the Menominees; 'here is plenty of water, if you dare to come down and get it.' And they did go down many times. These taunts, and their great necessity, made that narrow way the scene of many desperate sallies, but all to no purpose. The besiegers were too strong.

"The heat of the burning sun, and the dreadful suffering for the want of water became intolerable. Some rain fell once, but it was only a partial relief for those who were perishing in the sight of that sparkling water which was almost within reach. At length one of the youngest chiefs, after fasting strictly for ten days, thus addressed his companions: 'Listen—last night there stood by me the form of a young man clothed in white, who said: "I was alive once—was dead, and now live forever; only trust in me, now and always, and I will deliver you. Fear not. At midnight I will cast a deep sleep upon your enemies. Then go forth boldly and silently, and you shall escape.'"

"Thus encouraged, and knowing this to be a direct revelation, the besieged warriors decided to leave the fort. That night an unusual silence pervaded the whole host of their enemies, who had been before so wakeful. So in silent, stealthy lines, the wearied people passed out and fled. Only a few who disbelieved the vision, preferred to remain, and they were massacred with fiercer

barbarity than ever, when next morning the besieging tribes awoke from their strange slumbers to find that their prey was gone."

(References for Chapter XII: Stambaugh, Report on Wisconsin Territory, Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. 15; McCall's Journal, Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. 11; C. D. Robinson, Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. 2.)

CHAPTER XIII

THE BLACK HAWK SCARE

The dramatic episode in Wisconsin history known as the Black Hawk war gave a scare to the dwellers in the Fox river valley and not without reason. Black Hawk, a chief of the Sauk nation living on Rock river, Illinois, in retaliation for the insults suffered by his people from the white squatters on his territory, indiscreetly threatened them with force if they did not at once depart. This was in the spring of 1831. The Sauk chief's words were construed as being "a bloody menace" and the Illinois militia were promptly called out and the disturbance quelled. The Hawk was encouraged in his revolt against immigration by emissaries from the Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes, Ottawas and Chippewas, all of whom urged him to fight for his rights and drive out if possible the intruders.

With no hostile intent, however, Black Hawk and his band of five hundred warriors, accompanied by their women and children, passed up the Rock river in April, 1832, with the intention of planting their fields at Prophetstown. The onward tramp of the Indians was looked upon as an invasion and roused general alarm in Illinois and what is now Wisconsin. Settlers fled the country or gathered into log forts. General Henry Atkinson, with an army of volunteers and regulars marched from Fort Armstrong against Black Hawk and his peaceable following. The startled Hawk sent back a defiant message and retreated up Rock river, making a brief stand at Stillman creek. Here finding that the promised assistance from other tribes was not forthcoming he attempted to surrender, on stipulation that he be allowed peacefully to withdraw to the west of the Mississippi. But his messengers on approaching with their white flag the camp of a party of twenty-five hundred half-drunken Illinois cavalry militia were brutally slain. Accompanied by a mere handful of braves the enraged Sauk leader now ambushed and easily routed this large and boisterous party, whose members displayed rank cowardice; in their mad retreat they spread broadcast through the settlements a report that Black Hawk was backed by two thousand bloodthirsty warriors bent on a campaign of universal slaughter. (Thwaites, Wisconsin.)

The terrified dwellers on Fox river through that summer of 1832 lived in almost hourly dread of an invasion by Sacs and Foxes. The allies of the warring bands of Indians, the Winnebagoes, were in a constant state of unrest and there was great apprehension that they would join the invaders in case of an assault on Fort Howard. From the Green Bay garrison on the first alarm a company had been sent to Fort Winnebago, leaving at the former post but seventeen men, and the cantonment in almost a defenseless condition, as repairs were going on in the buildings. A cannon was planted near the river

opposite the Episcopal mission house at Shantytown and patrols were constantly kept about the settlement. The whites in the neighborhood of Lake Winnebago moved down to the bay hamlet and the cannon on the river was to be the signal when fired for all the inhabitants to go to the fort. "It was supposed that the mission house would be the first object of attack on account of the number of scalps to be obtained. The alarm continued for three weeks, some nights the large boys did not go to bed, a girl with long hair requested that it be cut off so that she could not be scalped." (Kemper, W. H. C., Vol. 15.)

The mission house and school was in 1832 in charge of Reverend Richard F. Cadle. Under his care were twenty-two full-blooded Indian children from the Menominee, Chippewa and New York tribes and one Sauk, the entire school numbering 109 members. Of the remainder eighty were half and quarter breed Menominee and Chippewa and seven were white. The large preponderance of Menominees rendered the children's dread of Black Hawk's band not unfounded, for the Sauk's antagonism to the Menominees dated back a century and more, to the days when their allies, the Foxes, were routed by the combined forces of French and Menominee. The little girl with long hair might well fear that it would be carried off and herself, perhaps, with it by the invading Sauks and Winnebagoes, for exaggerated rumors as to their numbers and vindictive cruelty were rife, and the insecurity of Fort Howard, three miles to the northward, must have added to the feeling of isolation and dread of impending danger.

The small detachment of seventeen men retained at Fort Howard was under the command of Captain Nathan Clark, and this fragment of military force formed a nucleus of retreat for the fugitives from threatened points and also for the townspeople. The great rendezvous was, however, the agency house, at that time the large frame house on the east bank of Fox river, which had been purchased from Judge Doty four years previous.

Henry B. Brevoort had been succeeded as agent by Samuel C. Stambaugh, and he, in turn, by Colonel George Boyd, who had been transferred from Mackinac, his former post on June 2, 1832. Colonel Stambaugh had not yet quitted his Green Bay agency, and a delegation of Menominees headed by Grizzly Bear waited upon Colonel Boyd and asked that "our father, Colonel Stambaugh, be allowed to remain with us until our troubles are over," and that he be given the command of the two hundred and fifty recruits from the Menominee nation, who were encamped in the woods at the rear of the agency house.

Colonel Boyd's reply was most courteous and conciliatory. He gladly consented to allow Stambaugh full command of the Indian allies, promising that if it became necessary to march against the enemy, he alone should lead the Indian militia. Ebenezer Childs, writing on June 13, 1832, says that the discipline among this large camp of Menominees was remarkable. Regular sentinels were posted on the outskirts, from thirty to fifty scouting parties patrolled the woods from "Dickenson's Ferry to the lower part of Devil river," and they were ordered to and did report every morning at headquarters, Captain Augustin Grignon "who has as much control over the Indians as any in this country," shared the command with Colonel Stambaugh. Much time was spent in musket practice by the recruits, and also "in firing in bands and platoons." The number of Menominees was finally augmented to about five hundred, and to these presents to the amount of \$159.85 were allowed by government in addition to their daily

rations. The presents consisted of wearing apparel, vermilion for the decoration of their faces, looking glasses, 124 flints, 468 pounds of tobacco and twenty-four dozen pipes to the chiefs and head men.

Colonel George Boyd, whose papers in regard to the Black Hawk war are an interesting addition to the history of that period, belonged to an old and distinguished Virginia family and had held many offices of trust under government. In October, 1816, he was appointed special agent of the war department, and ordered to Europe to purchase arms for the use of the United States; he also received orders for the purchase of material to be used in the construction of the capitol building and the president's house at Washington, amounting to something over \$19,000. The government later failed to fulfil its contract with him, by declining to accept a part of the arms which he had ordered. This involved him in financial ruin, and forced him to dispose of all his property for the benefit of his creditors. He was a high-minded generous gentleman, much respected by the residents in this vicinity and was thoroughly liked by the Indians, toward whom he showed sympathy and fair dealing. He was, moreover, efficient in the management of his office.

The agency house stood in 1832 about one mile south of the Episcopal mission; ruins of the old chimney still remain to mark the spot in the town of Allouez, and an asylum was offered in the large hospitable building to all who could get in, when the cannon should give signal that the Indians were in sight. To quote from Mrs. Henry S. Baird's "Territorial Wisconsin:" "The militia had organized and had encamped near the river below the woods on the west side of what is now R. B. Kellogg's stock farm. Mr. Baird was the quartermaster. We had given up our house in Shantytown and were living on our farm, but my husband was obliged to go every day to Shantytown to his business. I never saw him mount his horse that summer without saying to myself 'shall we ever meet again?' Cholera threatening on one hand, the Indians on the other."

This was the first of the three fatal cholera epidemics which visited, in different years, Brown county. In 1832, there seems not to have been a practicing physician throughout the county; the post surgeon from Fort Howard attended the sick when possible, but often it was the priest alone who was called in to minister to those stricken as well as to shrive the dying and bury the dead. General Scott's troops on their way to the front were attacked by the disease at Detroit, and many died. Hardly a household in Menomineeville was exempt from the scourge. Father Mazzuchelli, at that time in charge of the church built by the Roman Catholic congregation in the town, assisted by two sisters of the order of St. Clare, gave devoted care to those stricken and buried the dead.

Two years later in 1834, the cholera was again abroad in the land. Father Van den Broek, then in charge of the mission at Menomineeville, records in his note book: "It often happened that while I was attending the sick, sometimes even while confessing them, that they died at my side, so that we could not get enough people to dig the graves. We had to bury from four or five in one grave. We could not even find people enough to prepare the bodies for burial and I had to bury them myself, assisted by two sisters of the order of St. Clare (Theresa and Clara Bourdillon) who were teaching. They took off the

cords, which were their girdles, and with these we lowered the bodies into the graves."

In the midst of the anxiety and dread which prevailed generally during the summer of 1832, the people one morning heard the dreaded signal; the boom of cannon repeated twice, an ominous warning that the hostile Indians were in sight. There was a general stampede for the agency house, just as the dawn began to lighten Fox river. From far and near came hurrying feet; women and men leading little children by the hand, or riding horses. Soon the house was crowded and still the frightened people continued to come.

Suddenly it was bruited around that there was a mistake and then through the nervous strain and anxiety rang out a hearty laugh, for it was discovered that there was not a hostile warrior within a hundred miles, and that in firing the cannon an attempt was made by the local militia to imitate the martial discipline of Fort Howard, where a morning gun was always fired at sunrise.

Mrs. Kinzie at Fort Winnebago thus describes the Green Bay military as they appeared on their way to the scene of hostilities: "A company of about twenty-five horsemen, with banners flying, veils fluttering from their hats and arms glittering in the sun, rode into our midst amid greetings and roars of laughter. They were Colonel Stambaugh and Alexander Irwin of Green Bay, with a company of young volunteers and followed by a whooping band of Menominee Indians, all bound for the seat of war."

The journal of Cutting Marsh, the austere and somewhat stern missionary to the Stockbridge Indians, tells another story. He was left alone in charge, his co-workers having all sought asylum at Shantytown. "Rainy and cold. Mind completely distracted in consequence of reports of Indian hostilities. Heard that the Sacs, Foxes, some Pottawatomies and Winnebagoes were about 70 miles from Fort Winnebago. Found it difficult and almost impossible to keep my mind off from the subject. Still found some relief in prayer to God."

The journal continues: "Friday, July 27th. Saw perhaps 50 of the Menominees who were on their way up the Fox river on a war expedition to join the U. S. army against the hostile Sacs. They appeared indeed thoughtless as sheep bound to the slaughter. Their painted faces, ornaments, drums, whistles, war clubs, spears, etc., made them appear indeed savage and warlike. Their songs uttered from the throat consisting in deep guttural sounds and very loud without distinction in sounds seemed most like the singing of frogs, and the occasional whoop was calculated to make one feel that darkness and moral death still broods over this region."

The Indian bands continually passing along the Fox river trail added constantly to the terror of the inhabitants. The warlike and always spectacular Winnebagoes appeared at Shantytown, "one carrying a large spear, the blade perhaps a foot and half long, and the handle covered with red baize, another carried the colors, among other things with which it was ornamented was a piece of a Sac Indian's scalp. Some were painted red, and had horses' tails so adjusted upon their heads that the hair all hung down upon their shoulders, and upon the crown of the head was a plume."

Stambaugh's Indian allies succeeded in intercepting a fleeing remnant of Sauks, who had escaped in the weeds bordering the Mississippi. These they

massacred; thus did Brown county bear its part in the causeless and cruel Black Hawk war.

This Indian outbreak advertised to a large extent the western country and stimulated settlement. In the autumn of 1832, treaties were negotiated with the Menominees, Sauks and Winnebagoes, voiding their title to all the lands south and east of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. In 1834, a new era in Brown county's progress was inaugurated, for during that year and the next these lands were surveyed and opened up for settlement. The eastern half of this territory called the Green Bay district bordered on Lake Michigan and included what are now the most populous counties of the state.

A land office was opened at Navarino with Samuel W. Beall as receiver, and William B. Slaughter, register. Morgan L. Martin had united with Solomon Juneau in 1833 in platting the town site of Milwaukee, and at this historic land sale were to be found the plats of that village and Navarino. The latter was considered by far the most desirable place in which to locate, and town lots rapidly rose in value from fifty to twelve hundred dollars. During the summer of 1835-36 excitement rose to fever heat, every steamer and schooner brought settlers; speculators also crowded in who purchased land at government prices which they sold to later comers for treble the amount. Moneyed men from Detroit and other cities invested heavily, the sales in four days alone reaching the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars.

Many of these land buyers came with no fixed intention of remaining permanently, but after investing and viewing the fine country their intentions changed; they took up homes and became permanent residents. Another class characterized by the settlers as "speculators" visited the country in great numbers and purchased very large quantities of the choicest of the public lands, with no purpose of occupancy but solely with the expectation of selling the lands at a future period at a greatly increased price. The effect of these speculations was greatly to retard or prevent the occupancy of the country by permanent settlers.

Some idea may be formed of the magnitude of this land speculation from the fact which the records of the General Land Office show, that the total sales of government lands in Wisconsin previous to December 31, 1836, amounted to 878,014 acres, of which as much as 600,000 acres were probably sold to speculators. The currency of the country, which consisted mainly of the notes of state banks was abnormally expanded. The receivers of the land offices were authorized to accept the notes of many of the state banks in payment for public lands, and appearances seemed to indicate that the entire body of the public domain would soon be exchanged for bank credits and paper money, and would be absorbed by speculators to the serious injury of actual settlers and emigrants.

On the eleventh of July, 1836, President Andrew Jackson issued a "specie circular" as it was called, instructing the "Receivers of Public Money" in view of the frauds, speculations and monopolies in the purchase of the public land to receive in payment after the 15th day of August, "nothing except what is directed by the existing laws, viz: Gold and Silver and in the proper cases Virginia land script." This vigorous measure had the desired result; after the date mentioned there was no more wild buying and selling of government lands, but the evil had been done and before the fifteenth of August, 1836, a large proportion of the most valuable lands had passed for a mere song into the hands of worthless in-

vestors. It caused, too, a feeling of distrust among the real home seekers and retarded the growth of Brown county for many years. It was during the progress of this land sale that the first church fair was held in Green Bay under the auspices of Christ Church parish. All the ladies of the village irrespective of denominational preference united in the work and a great variety of articles was collected; among other Indian curiosities a miniature wigwam of tiny puckaway mats which readily sold for forty dollars. A bountiful supper was provided, and in addition the ladies sold for a large price saucers of "floating island," which they designated as "floats," a term much in use during the land sale. The evening was also enlivened by an auction—William B. Ogden, who with many other capitalists had been brought to the town by the speculative fever acting as auctioneer. In the words of Mrs. Baird, who in her *"Contes du Temps Passé,"* gives a charming account of this fair: Mr. Ogden "was brilliant, witty, perfectly superb—no professional auctioneer could have thought of competing with him."

In 1835 the town of Astor was platted, the proprietors being John Jacob Astor, Ramsay Crooks and Robert Stuart. The area covered included some of the most beautiful and desirable property in Green Bay township, and had been acquired by the American Fur Company through association of the original owners of the land, the Grignons, Lawes and Porliers, with this important monopoly. When Astor retired from the company, about the year 1834, he owned in Green Bay hundreds of acres of unproductive lands, property of the American Fur Company. The frequent calls made by Green Bay traders for loans, sometimes for hundreds of dollars, sometimes for larger amounts had met with quick response from the accommodating corporation until gradually not only lands in Green Bay but the wide domain deeded to Charles de Langlade by the English government as a reward for his valuable war service and bequeathed by him to his descendants was swallowed up by the Astor Company. The fur trade with its easy profit exercised the same malign influence in the nineteenth as in the seventeenth century. It paralyzed other industries. The profits grew less yearly, the business more diffused; the trading house interfered with the country store to such an extent that the merchants complained of unequal competition and more or less every store in Green Bay and De Pere traded in peltries and made what profit they could in the sale of furs. Meanwhile the Astor property was held at prohibitive prices and greatly retarded the growth of the city, the numerous heirs after the death of the original owners being difficult to reach and unwilling to agree on terms of sale. The public parks in Green Bay were all originally the property of Astor, Crooks and Stuart. When Astor was first platted, however, in 1835, it was believed that quick returns would be realized through the sale of lots and that the new village would speedily overtop in importance its rival, Navarino. A fine hotel, the Astor House, was built on the corner of Adams and Mason streets, an historic structure the building of which is characterized as "an event of importance not only to the little village but to the entire northwest." In a paper prepared by Miss Frances Last for the Green Bay Historical Society this first important hotel west of the great lakes is touched off thus:—"John Jacob Astor, the shrewd old fur trader, desiring to increase the value of the land he owned in the new town and to draw there a part of the settlers who were coming in great numbers to this part of the country during the land sales, wisely determined to build a comfortable hotel, 'the largest west of New York,' where the



REV. ELEAZER WILLIAMS



transient guest who came merely to look over the ground might be changed through the comfort of his surroundings into a permanent resident. The little village of Astor which was honored with this edifice, so far superior in size and in other respects to anything to be found in all the broad expanse of the northwest, contained not more than half a dozen houses built mostly of logs, small in size and destitute of paint."

A stone's throw from the Astor house and close to the river's brink stood the low log house belonging to Joseph Jourdain (a blacksmith of repute), the father of Mrs. Eleazer Williams, and where she stayed much of the time during the visits of her somewhat erratic husband to the east. A long low log building occupied the spot where the water works plant stands today, and just south of this the first church in the future city of Green Bay was built a few years earlier, by the Roman Catholic congregation of St. John's. "To the northward a little farther down the river Judge Arndt kept a small inn, its latch string invitingly out and just beside it a store, where the varied wants of the rural population were supplied."

At this same time the Astors built what was later known as the bank building where the first bank in Wisconsin opened its doors in 1835, and also the large warehouse and dock, which for many succeeding years stood at the foot of Mason street, and was used after the fur trade ceased to require its ample dimensions, for the first sash door and window factory in Brown county and probably in the state.

Daniel Whitney had before the erection of the Astor House built a less pretentious structure directly across from Fort Howard, and on the site of the present Beaumont Hotel, calling it the Washington House. Fierce rivalry existed between the little towns and the prospect of a new and elegant hostelry for the accommodation of the many guests attending the land sales must have caused as great excitement as did the transference of property.

"When the work was actually completed and in all the imposing majesty of its three stories and crowning cupola, the Astor House, glistening with fresh white paint stood in the morning sunshine, a beautiful object to the partial eyes of the dweller in Astor. A stranger might hardly have considered it an architectural gem. It was very large, very square, and quite guiltless of any adornment or frivolous device. Its many windows were provided with bright green blinds to temper sun and wind to the lambs gathered within its walls. Mrs. Mary Mitchell, whose recollection goes back to those early days writes of this first real hotel. "It was a fine structure for the time in which it was built and perhaps considered a work of art. I well remember, the airs our little burgh put on when it was said 'the hotel is finished.'" When the last touch had been given to the house, furniture splendid beyond anything seen before in the west was sent to fill it. Old settlers were wont to wax eloquent in describing the soft carpets, the mahogany tables and chairs and sofas, the abundant shining silver, knives and forks and spoons; two teasetts not plated, but real and sterling silver, and the finest damask. A few pieces of this furniture, a handsome table, a sofa and a very beautiful cut glass globe still exist to bear testimony to the truth of these statements. As a last and crowning addition to the edifice its owner sent from New York a man to fill the responsible and difficult position of landlord; described as one of exceptionally fine presence with cultivated, genial manners. * * * Charles Rogers, by

name. As nearly as can be learned the house passed next into the hands of Thomas Green, a well known pioneer resident and hotel keeper, who was held in warmest regard. This must have been about 1838, as Rogers held the position for some three years, and it was during Green's occupancy that the Astor House was honored with a royal guest, the son of the French king, Louis Philippe, the Prince de Joinville, with his suite, a gay party. They spent a few hours here dining sumptuously and conferring lasting distinction upon the house thereby.

"Thomas Green was succeeded in the management of the hotel by a Mr. Blood, Mr. Parsons and one Axtell. Some time in 1854 it was leased by Ira Stone, the last but by no means the least popular or successful of its landlords. The following advertisement appeared in the Advocate during the summer of that year. "The Astor House." "Pleasantly situated on Adams street in the City of Green Bay is now open for the entertainment and accommodation of Boarders, Travelers, Strangers and all others in pursuit either of business or pleasure. This large and commodious hotel has just been thoroughly overhauled, repaired and elegantly fitted up and furnished for the accommodation of the Public, and no pains will be spared by the present proprietor to give the amplest satisfaction to all who favor him with their patronage. The table will be supplied with all the delicacies and luxuries of the season which can be found in this market. It is beautifully located on the banks of Fox river, opposite to the Astor dock, where the River steamers stop regularly to and from Kaukauna. Passengers will be conveyed to and from the steamboat landing free of charge.

IRA STONE."

"May I remark parenthetically that the landing from which passengers were to be conveyed was just over the way.

"The old house lost none of its popularity during these later years and was very prosperous and successful financially—perhaps too prosperous for its own good, certainly it made for itself an enemy. Several attempts to destroy it were followed by one that proved successful and in August, 1857, the house was burned to the ground. As after setting forth the public life and services of a great man and his claims to the grateful remembrance of his fellow men the biographer before closing gives us a more intimate and familiar account of his hero his private life, his virtues and his faults, his home and his surroundings and thus places his subject more clearly before us, may one speak of the interior life of the Astor House in urging its claims to a niche in memory's gallery.

"No churlish landlord ever presided over the old hostelry, no niggard hand ever spread its board. * * * Was it the pleasure of the community to honor a fellow citizen for his public services a banquet or a ball was given at the Astor House. Twice was the Hon. Morgan L. Martin, thus assured of the appreciative regard of the people of Green Bay—once, when as our delegate in Congress, he secured the passage of the Fox River improvement bill—and once when as president of the second territorial convention he was largely instrumental in framing our constitution and securing Wisconsin's admission to statehood. Here were held the important political meetings—the formation of the Whig and Democratic parties were first accomplished within the walls of the old hotel. Here, too, were given the Masonic balls and parties for many years. The Mexican war put a stop to the merrymakings and carried to the front the men, who through months of familiar intercourse, had endeared themselves to the citizens of Green

Bay. The Advocates during 1848 and 1849 are full of news from the seat of war; there was a shadow over the whole community for a time but with a declaration of peace the clouds lifted again, bonfires blazed and bells rang out and there was music and dancing again in the Astor ball room. The following notice appeared in 1856. 'Fashionable Dancing Academy. Mr. De Bennée respectfully begs leave to inform the ladies and gentlemen of Green Bay that he shall recommence giving tuition in that polite art on Friday, April 18th. at the Bank hall until the Astor ball room is finished, which is now undergoing important improvements.' As we read the gay throng seems to once again fill with music and laughter and jest the walls of the old hotel, then fade away and only ashes remain. Other inns took its place but the Astor House, the first real hotel west of Lake Michigan, and the most historic, stands out for all time and its epitaph remains in the hearts of the people."

(References Chapter XIII: Ms. Letters; Thwaites, Wisconsin; Frances Last Astor House; Life of Father Vanden Broek; Wisconsin Hist. Colls. Vol. 11.)

CHAPTER XIV

FORT HOWARD—MEXICAN WAR

From 1816 to 1824, a period of eight years, the rule that bore sway throughout Brown county was essentially military. The civil code was limited and but sparingly administered, but military law and its uncompromising enforcement more than supplied any deficiencies in civil government. Instances are recorded of high handed oppression and injustice committed not only by the commanders at the French fort, but also in later years and under United States protection by the commandants at Fort Howard.

The military law held that no citizen should dare to land on the fort side of Fox river without permission from the commanding officer and it was a standing order of the post that no boat or vessel should be permitted to pass the military cantonment without reporting. The sentinel was during the day often placed on guard on the wharf rather than on the elevated platform of the sallyport and ordered to fire on any craft that dared to disobey this arbitrary command.

Up to 1825 there had been no public means provided for crossing Fox river. In June of that year John P. Arndt took out a license to maintain a ferry some distance south of the fort. Military law had, however, for so long governed the community that a license given by civil authority was not recognized by Major Whistler, who issued an order forbidding any passenger to land on the west shore without first obtaining a permit from the commanding officer. A guard was stationed to enforce compliance, and several persons attempting to cross were arrested and put to much inconvenience. At last Arndt himself to end the difficulty, crossed, was seized as he had anticipated and carried to the fort. When released he brought suit against Major Whistler for false imprisonment and obtained judgment of fifty dollars and costs; the court ruling that Fox river was a public highway, on which a ferry could be run at any point without military interference.

Fort Howard, although curtailed in its governmental power by decision of the courts continued a potent factor in the life of Brown county for the succeeding forty years, giving color and picturesqueness to life in the valley of the Fox. Green Bay acquired the title of a "garrison town," a marked distinction at that time, although hardly appreciated today; it gave dignity to the little settlement, and brought to this vicinity men and women of exceptional worth and reputation. The garrison, with its crowd of young officers, set the pace in social affairs, and through government orders inaugurated various important improvements. The people were proud of their trim white fort, and the flag which floated over it during the daylight hours stood for this whole section of country as the guarantee of civilization and protection.

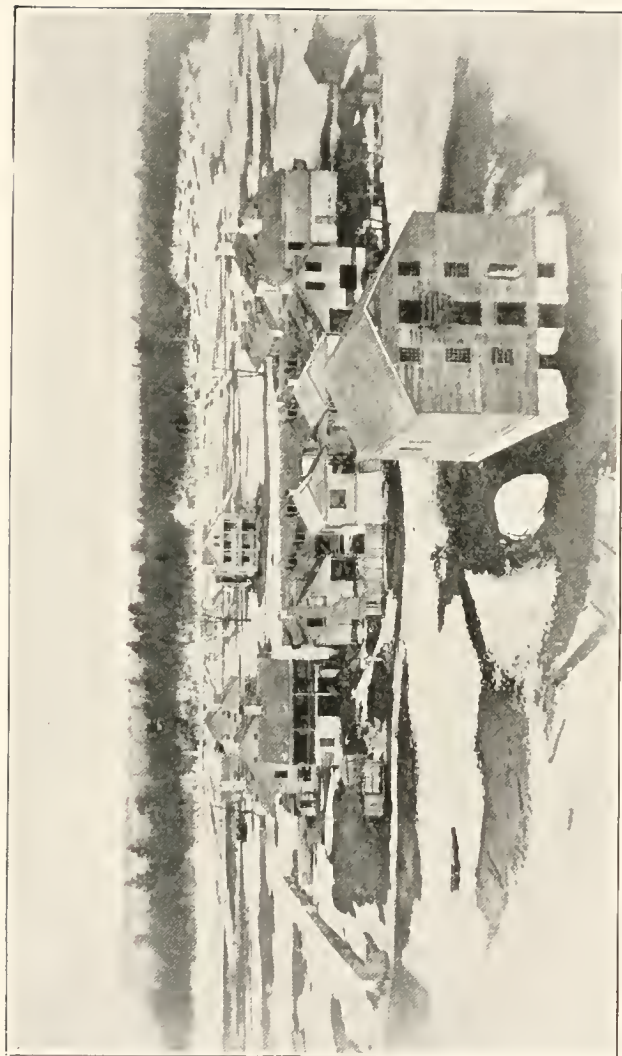
The first commander, Colonel Talbot Chambers had his hands full with

building the fort, and bringing it into a habitable state. Lewis Morgan, United States agent of fortifications resided for a number of years at Fort Howard and the erection of the buildings was under his supervision.

Not much could be expected from the early commanders in a social way, and indeed, the inhabitants scattered along the shores of the river were just recovering from the cruel devastation of the War of 1812; so although there was some informal entertaining at the houses of the well-to-do traders, the garrison held aloof, and exercised merely a decided influence on the law and customs of the people. "This country is known simply as the seat of Indian wars," wrote Judge Doty, a few years later, and the reputation of the Fox river valley was that of a place given over to fierce warfare—a battleground dangerous to the new comers and surrounded by savage tribes. "Everything at present bears a peaceful aspect, but how long this state of things will continue is very uncertain. Without a great deal of circumspection on the part of the Indian department, and a chain of posts always properly garrisoned I have little hesitation in saying that our frontier again will witness the horrors of savage warfare—The Winnebagoes it is manifest, are decidedly opposed to our making any establishment in this country, as are also a part of the Folle-Avoinos. Nothing, I believe, but the strong force they have to combat with keeps them quiet—the storm is murmuring at a distance, which I am fearful will, sooner or later, burst on us with all the accumulated horrors of savage vengeance," thus wrote Dr. William Henry Hemming from the "Camp on Fox river, Green Bay, August 29, 1816."

A strong hand was required at Fort Howard to hold in subjection Indians and British sympathizers among the Green Bay settlers, and Colonel Chambers proved equal to the occasion. He was as described "violent and exacting," a lover of strong drink and severe in discipline, but he was also "just and sociable" and the majority of the traders reported that they received only good treatment from the government. The commanding officer must have possessed a fair average of tact, for upon him devolved the delicate task of issuing licenses to fur traders throughout this entire section of country. The "tribunal of a mercantile inquisition" was the description given by one of these applicants for permission to carry on commercial operations, and even the dignified Jacques Porlier indulges in a burst of raillery over the absurdity of the situation. "Mr. Bouteiller, that Sheep of the Good God, after so many hardships, having been taxed with being at the head of the Savages during the war, on a Great white horse, with a great white plume, and a long Saber, and on the point of having his scalp lifted and his neck cut, has succeeded in dissipating the prejudices against him with the aid of his purse. He has obtained at great expense a license." This in the spring of 1817.

The officers do not appear to have brought their wives into this frontier post until quarters sufficient for a comfortable establishment were erected. The furnishing was a serious question, the buildings were unfinished and crude, but Zachary Taylor and his wife brought with them, in 1817, to this unsettled life refinements in household goods hitherto unknown: beautiful mahogany furniture, and fine old china, a large part of which, however, they were obliged to dispose of to Green Bay residents before embarking for Major Taylor's next command at Prairie du Chien. The only mode of travel being by bateau or canoe, it was manifestly impossible to carry a mammoth sideboard and heavy



RUINS OF FORT HOWARD



tables through the rapids of Fox river and the shallows of the Wisconsin, so this fine personal property was left to furnish and delight a Green Bay home.

With Colonel Joseph Lee Smith and his wife in 1819, came their cousin, afterwards Mrs. Alexander J. Irwin, and their pleasant home is mentioned by Dr. Jedidiah Morse who was their guest during his stay at the bay in 1820. Dr. Morse warmly approved of the plan instigated by Colonel Smith of removing the troops to the height above Menomineeville. The doctor invariably speaks of Fort Howard as Fort Brown, and there was undoubtedly talk of changing the name to follow that of the county, for Schoolcraft also dubs it Brown.

In the summer of 1820, Governor Cass, in order to acquaint himself with conditions throughout his governmental territory passed down the rivers of Wisconsin to Green Bay. Henry R. Schoolcraft, who accompanied the expedition as geologist and ethnologist describes in his journal minutely the appearance of the Brown county settlement at this time, "August 20, 1820. A heavy fog in the morning prevented us from quitting our encampment until seven o'clock. Six miles below we passed the rapids of Little Kakalin, which however oppose no serious obstacle to the navigation of the river on the descent. Here we found a small party of United States soldiers, who were engaged in preparing the foundation for a saw mill, which is to be erected at that spot for the accommodation of the garrison and settlement at Green Bay. The settlement of Green Bay commences at the Little Kakalin (Little Rapids), twelve miles above the fort, and is very compact from the Rock rapid. Here we are first presented with a view of the fort; and nothing can exceed the beauty of the intermediate country—checkered as it is, with farm houses, fences, cultivated fields, the broad expanse of the river—the bannered masts of the vessels in the distant bay, and the warlike array of military barracks, camps and parades. This scene burst suddenly into view * * * the circumstances of our return would have produced a high degree of exhilaration without the additional excitement of military music, which now saluted our ears, and the peals of artillery which bid us welcome to the fort."

Fort Howard is described as consisting of a range of barracks facing three sides of a square parade, and surrounded by a stockade of timber thirty feet high with block houses at the angles. Glistening with whitewash it presented a smart military appearance and situated in the midst of a grassy plain and backed by a dense forest of pine with stars and stripes ever floating by day from its flag-staff it was a gay and conspicuous point of color in the landscape. From the block houses frowned ordnance sufficient to intimidate the Indians in the vicinity—one twelve pound cannon, said to have been an excellent gun, one six-pounder, and one nine pound brass howitzer pronounced unserviceable. Major Zachary Taylor succeeded Colonel Chambers as commandant, and the officers under him numbered six captains, three first lieutenants, and three second lieutenants, in all 506 men, with a regimental band of sixteen musicians. Life was pleasant at old Fort Howard; there was much intercourse between the garrison and the residents of the little town, which boasted now a population of five hundred souls. More and more as time went on the social side predominated, for peace was abroad in the land; the Indians were docile and after 1825 it was decided that the civil law should be in force without military interference.

Colonel William Whistler, who is mentioned as being in command during the

absence of Colonel Smith on the occasion of Governor Cass' visit in 1820, was stationed at Fort Howard for a number of years; a dictator in law and procedure, testy in temper but warm hearted and of genial bent. He was insistent that the dignity of his position should be recognized and due honor paid him. The Whistlers as a family were a talented, fine looking set, and William Whistler came from a line of military ancestors. His father, John Whistler, was stationed at Detroit in 1803 and later at Fort Dearborn which he helped to build. James Abbott McNeil Whistler, the eminent but most eccentric artist once said to a visitor from Chicago; "Chicago, dear me, what a wonderful place; I really ought to visit it some day—for you know my grandfather founded the city and my uncle was the last commander."

This uncle, William Whistler was for many years identified with Fort Howard, first with the rank of major in 1820, and again as colonel from 1824 to 1827. He had a family of handsome daughters, and this period was one of the gayest in the Fort's social history. There was a host of young lieutenants at Fort Howard in those early days, Smith, Wheeler, Bainbridge, Wright, Hunter, Crossman, Clark, Loring, Bloodgood and many others who from 1820 to 1828 made life gay in the isolated garrison. Constant intercourse was kept up between Fort Howard and the townspeople. In Colonel Whistler's time Navarino and Astor were unknown, but Shantytown with its pleasant homes was the goal of daily trips by the government barge. There was just the white fort guarding the river's entrance and across the water a sandy tongue of land where the year around brown smooth faced Menominee Indians camped in their mat-covered wigwams.

On the lowlands where is located the city of Green Bay grew a dark tangle of tamarack and cedar, the tints changing as the ground grew higher to the paler green of oak and maple, and there was still another note of color in the landscape where undulating billows of wild rice met the river's channel. Through this close mesh of water growth only a birch canoe could slip easily, while the squaw propelling it could beat out the nutty grain with her paddle. The name of "Baye Verte," Green Bay, was bestowed on the place naturally, with this thick vivid verdure fringing the shores of river and bay.

Then came the home of Judge Arndt on the site of the Langlade house, the first residence on the east side of the river, and conspicuous in the landscape on Lawe's Point stood the trading house, group of buildings and beautiful garden constituting the establishment of John Lawe, Judge of Probate and one of the most prominent among the fur traders. Caroline Whistler, spoken of by Mrs. Baird in her reminiscences as a beautiful girl and one of her intimate friends, in these early days was a frequent visitor at the Lawe homestead, staying for days at a time with the interesting eldest daughter of the house, Rachel Lawe, afterward Mrs. Peter Bernard Grignon.

In every gay doing at the Fort from 1820 to 1826 we find the name of Henry Loring. He it was who when the play "She Stoops to Conquer," was given by the youngsters of the garrison played the part of Miss Hardcastle, the remainder of the cast including the names of Lieutenants Smith, Bainbridge, Wright, Russell and others. In 1821, Colonel Joseph L. Smith was succeeded in command by Colonel Ninian Pinckney, and he in turn was relieved in 1823 by Colonel John McNeil, of whom a pleasant sketch is given by Surveyor General

Albert G. Ellis. The fort had become well established by this time, 1822, Shantytown was at the zenith of its popularity as a place of residence and Colonel McNeil did all in his power to add to the joy of life in this far off town. In the long mess room, which he built with this purpose in view, he instituted during the winter months weekly assembly parties, the guests coming from Shantytown on the ice by cariole or French train—a gay crowd. Dinner would be served as early as four o'clock and then began the dancing which lasted not later than midnight. One long remembered merrymaking took place on a March evening and before the dancing ceased the ice in the river had begun to move down stream, and the party were prisoners in the garrison for days to come. A ball at Fort Howard was a joy long to be remembered and its happy moments are still charmed back to life in gossipy letter and reminiscence. In the long mess room spermaceti candles shed a soft glow; wreaths of ground pine festooned the whitewashed walls, and formed an effective background for the merry dancers. A government band sixteen strong discoursed dance compelling strains, and those who joined in the round say that there was a dash, a verve to Fort Howard cotillions not found in social attempts at other western points; the Creole girls had a beauty and distinction foreign to less favored localities, unless it might be Mackinac, "isle of the blessed."

In summer the government barge manned by soldiers and the "pill box," the Fort surgeon's special property, with just room for two in addition to the rowers, called at the settlement or at landing places all down the river to gather the ladies for the evening rout, the hour for assembling being as late during the warm weather as seven o'clock. What quaint airs were wafted from the open windows beyond the cantonment pickets far out on the softly whispering river; "Two Shillings in my pocket," "Cheat the Lady," and the plaintive strains of "Old Rosin the bow." The bizarre, somewhat barbaric dress of the ladies, bright with ribbons from the trading house formed a wavering mass of color in the candlelight, and shifted in slanting lines with the changing movement of the dancers.

Everyone danced. Youth's tripping foot, and the clumsy tread of age alike beat time to the rhythm when a deep swept courtesy and low return bow marked the commencement of the revel. To and fro, in and out, wove the fascinating measure, with light laughter, whispered speech and sweet glances from bright eyes.

The French creole who added immensely to the interest and gayety of these assemblies, ardent in love, gallant in war, with manners that would not have shamed a courtier of Versailles was a picturesque product of the place and time. The dignified handsome creole women showed, too, a refinement and charm that captivated to the point of marriage more than one American officer in the various army posts:

"Where are the Marys, and Anns and Elizas,
Lovely and loving of yore?
Look in the columns of old advertisers,
Dead and gone by the score."

General Hugh Brady who was stationed at Fort Howard in 1823-25 was a Pennsylvanian who had distinguished himself as an Indian fighter on the upper Ohio. In the War of 1812 he did gallant service at the battles of Chippewa and

Niagara, and was wounded in the latter fight. He, with General Brooke were the only officers who commanded at Fort Howard with the rank of General, and his name and service are commemorated in Fort Brady at Sault Ste. Marie.

A post school was inaugurated at this period at Fort Howard under the tutelage of A. G. Ellis, in a commodious building furnished with books, stationary and furniture and a "council of administration," with the commanding officer to keep discipline. Some thirty of the citizens' children were admitted. The officer of the day visited the school regularly at three o'clock, and on Friday afternoon General Brady and his staff inspected and heard recitations.

Following General Brady came Major William Whistler, and a bit of romance connecting young Lieutenant Loring with Caroline Whistler has only within the past few years come to light. It is in the form of a letter yellowed by time, cracked in the folds, the superscription, "Miss Caroline Whistler," "The River," and in the corner, "John Lawe," faded and stained as though by tears.

Personality springs into life as we read the written lines:

Fort Howard,

Sunday Morning.

"My dear Caroline:—A short time before I left Green Bay I mentioned to you that Mr. Bloodgood had told me that he was desirous of speaking to me on a particular subject, and that I thought that it was concerning you and myself. This turned out to be the fact, for on the day previous to our regiment's starting he, in conversation with me stated his feelings toward you, and wished to hear from me positively our situation in regard to each other; at the same time disavowing any wish to supplant me in your esteem or affection,—He was so frank in his avowal and remarks that I was led to declare to him what I did then, and must still believe to be a fact,—that I considered myself bound and engaged to you by every tie that could bind a man of honor to the woman he loved, and that nothing but your father's consent was in the way of our being united before I left the bay.

I must see you if possible and immediately, therefore I wish you to make some arrangements to pass the evening from home, and inform me where I can meet you,—say at the Doctor's, or you might walk in the garden with Lydia and your cousin Abbott.

Nothing that may ever happen will ever change my feelings toward you, and believe me, my dear girl, yours as truly as ever.

HENRY H. LORING.

If possible write this afternoon, and let me know if I can see you,—I should not be so anxious if I were not obliged to leave here in the next vessel."

Did Caroline in the soft dusk of the summer evening walk in the Doctor's garden with Harry Loring, or did he, wild with impatience to meet her, cross the river and receive her decision in the hush of the palisaded garden at the Lawes? Was there treachery somewhere, and was the letter never delivered? None can tell. Ninety years have drifted over the scrap of paper containing Loring's tender appeal and none are left to tell its history. Loring resigned a few years later from the army, did not live to be old, and long before the great civil war shook our country was at rest.

The organization of Menominee Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, in 1824, formed a welcome diversion in the monotony of garrison life. All but four

of the charter members were officers from Fort Howard, and the transitory stay of troops in any post was responsible for the disbanding of the lodge in 1830, almost all of the original nine having been ordered elsewhere, and new brothers failing to take their place. The meetings of the lodge were not at any time held in the fort but in a building in Shantytown whither the enthusiastic Masons were carried by government barge.

During Major Whistler's command at Fort Howard occurred the massacre of the Gaguier family by Red Bird, a well known Winnebago warrior and a companion Indian. Major Whistler led the expedition of volunteers, regulars, Stockbridge and Oneida Indians against Red Bird and his band, who surrendered without battle near the Fox-Wisconsin portage. A fine looking Indian and rather dramatic in action, his surrender to the Fort Howard commandant is a striking incident in Wisconsin history. "I have thrown away my life; I would not call it back again; let it go;" thus did Red Bird chant, as he supposed, his death song, at the same time taking up a pinch of dust and throwing it away.

Major (later General) David Twiggs succeeded Whistler in command, a man who exercised his authority over the enlisted men to the point of extreme cruelty, and who was thoroughly disliked by his subordinates, both officers and privates while at Fort Howard. One of the soldiers, Prescott, stole into the commandant's quarters one afternoon, while he was asleep, intending to brain him with the butt end of his musket, but Twiggs heard the soft tread, sprang up and wrenching the gun from Prescott's hand felled him to the ground.

Every species of torture was inflicted upon the hapless would-be murderer by the tyrannical officer, until the people of Menomineeville rose in a body and demanded that the man should, at least, be given a fair trial and not be left longer to the inhuman treatment of the commandant. Twiggs was afterward prominent as an officer in the confederate service.

Old settlers have stated that Jefferson Davis was at one time stationed at Fort Howard, but this is not true, although he visited there while on duty at Fort Winnebago and on one occasion went deer hunting up Devil river with Moses Hardwick, a sturdy pioneer and mail carrier of early days. The boat was capsized and Davis rescued by Hardwick from the treacherous stream, but later the Brown county man was wont to tell the story with the addition, that could he have looked into the future, the waters of Devil river would have closed the career of the future president of the Southern confederacy. Davis's first wife, Knox Taylor, whom he married when they were both very young, was the daughter of General Zachary Taylor, and according to contemporary testimony "a perfect little sprite." Her father, the doughty United States officer of Mexican war fame, and also the successful candidate for the presidency, named his little daughter after his old army friend, General Knox.

There is a manuscript record of a court martial which was held at Fort Howard in the summer of 1828, making inquiry into the conduct of Captain Boardman, an officer who had injudiciously seen fit to censure his superior in rank for not only indulging too freely in intoxicants, but also while in that condition stealing from Judge Arndt's warehouse a keg of pickled oysters. A large number of witnesses were summoned and from the adjutant general's office at Washington on September 4, 1828, was issued the following report: "Before the General Court Martial which convened at Fort Howard, * * * of which

Brevet Colonel Lindsay is president, was tried Captain Elijah Boardman, of the 2d Regiment, United States Infantry on two charges: Charge 1.—Conduct unbefitting an officer and a gentleman.

"Charge 2.—"Un-Officerlike conduct and disrespect to his Commanding Officer."

The court found the offender guilty of both charges, and the sentence pronounced was that the accused Captain Elijah Boardman, 2d Infantry, be dismissed from the service. The proceedings of the general court martial in the case of Captain Boardman having been laid before the president of the United States, the president was pleased to pronounce the following decision thereon: "The proceedings and sentence of the court are not approved," and then followed a most able summing up of the case in question, with the following ending: "The decision cannot travel out of the record, upon the face of which it appears to me, to be nothing to require upon Captain Boardman, even the censure of a reprimand.

"(Signed) JOHN Q. ADAMS.

"Captain Boardman, of the 2d Infantry, will accordingly resume his sword, and report for duty to Lieut. Colonel Morgan, superintending the recruiting service, at New York By order of Major General Macomb.

"(Signed) R. JONES, ADJ. GEN."

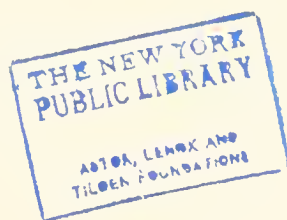
This is the only record of a court martial being held at Fort Howard during the many years it was garrisoned. Criticism there doubtless was of other commanding officers, but nothing flagrant enough to warrant the convening of a court of inquiry. Outside of the daily drill there was little to keep the crowd of gay young West Pointers busy. There was a great stretch of garden north of the fort, which the soldiers kept under fine cultivation and where they raised vegetables in profusion. A detachment from Fort Howard under an officer's command was usually employed in making roads through the forest in order to facilitate communication with other forts, and a crew of ten was detailed to man the government barge and four for the surgeon's gig, the "pill box." Still with a force of three or four hundred men, each company having its quota of officers ample time must have remained for pleasure or mischief.

A resident of Menomineeville in 1828, Satterlee Clark, well known throughout the western country, relates his first impressions of the Fox river settlement and says that in the spring of 1827, Fort Howard contained three companies of the first infantry under command of Major Twiggs and that his subalterns were Captain and Major Buell, Captain Spence and Captain William Harney, later a famous Indian fighter, over six feet in height, well proportioned, active and strong. That same summer Twiggs and his command were ordered to the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin, to build a fort to be called Fort Winnebago. This action by government was really in response to the earnest solicitation of John Jacob Astor, the Indians having been in the habit of levying tolls on the goods of the American Fur Company, when the boats were unloaded for the passage across the portage.

Twiggs was succeeded at Fort Howard by Colonel William Lawrence, who with four companies of the Fifth United States Infantry, came by boat from St. Louis, and so high was the water that year that the loaded barges floated easily across the dividing strip between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, thereby giving



FORT HOWARD, AT GREEN BAY, IN 1855



definite inception to the idea of a Fox River improvement Company. A great impetus was given to social gayeties by the influx of lively young officers and their genial commander. At Fort Howard, a grand ball was tendered the towns people as a return for courtesies received, a humorous description of which was given fifty years subsequent by one of the prettiest girls who danced away that summer night, Marie Brevoort, afterward Mrs. Bristol, a daughter of Major Henry B. Brevoort, the agent of Indian affairs.

It was the twelfth of July, and not later than four o'clock in the afternoon, the weather threatening, with thunder rumbles and lightning in the distance, when Lieutenant E. Kirby Smith, in spotless white trousers and trim military jacket appeared at the agency house to claim his partner for the evening's festivities. The young people were eager to be away betimes, for Major Brevoort was rather a testy individual and disposed to hold a tight rein over his attractive daughter, so lest objection should be made to the jaunt the lieutenant and Miss Marie left hastily for the boat landing, where the doctor's gig, with its four military boatmen awaited them. Mrs. Bristol thus described her dress for the grand occasion; brocaded lavender satin, trimmed with white silk lace, long white kid gloves, red slippers and white silk hose. As a protection from the night air a white lace shawl and large green "calash" standing out far from her head.

At Fort Howard a fine supper was served early in the evening and later the mess room was filled with a gay throng of dancers. "The music was enchanting," according to Miss Brevoort, and up to twelve o'clock all went well. Then a terrific thunder storm arose, lasting about an hour, when again the sky cleared, and the stars shone out. Lieutenant Smith and his fair companion embarked once again in the "pill box" for the homeward trip, but presently another fearful storm overtook them, "we were on a sea of space, angry clouds burst asunder, revealing vivid streaks of fire." Rain fell in torrents; the soldiers, bewildered, lost the rudder and the boat began to fill with water. To prevent its sinking the four soldiers took off their caps and boots using them to bail, and thus keeping the craft afloat until they drifted upon a sandbar about two miles from the agency house—probably Grignon's Point.

Just as the sun was rising over the wooded heights to the eastward the two merry-makers entered the gate of the Brevoort home. The water had loosened the trimming on the young lady's gown and it trailed five yards behind her black as the earth, while her red slippers were soaked and mud laden. Her escort bade her 'good morning' at the door, after having been pressed by Mrs. Brevoort with the ever ready hospitality of the time to remain for breakfast. Lieutenant Smith was shortly after ordered to Mackinac or the episode might have had a more romantic ending.

The recruits at an extreme frontier post, such as was Fort Howard in those days, were often desperate characters ready for any deviltry and dreaded by the inhabitants of Menomineeville because of their lawlessness. Thus it was a band of soldiers from Fort Howard who stole from the village church the silver ostensorium presented to the mission of St. François Xavier at the Des Peres rapids in 1686. This receptacle for the sacred wafer in the celebration of the mass, was afterward carried to Detroit and drifted into the possession of St. Anne's church in that city, where it was found by Reverend Father Bonduel

of St. John's church in Green Bay, redeemed for \$13.00 and restored to its original home. As time passed the class of enlisted soldiers improved much. Many of them were strict in their church duties both as Roman Catholics and Protestants. Services were sometimes conducted at the fort by different denominations as when "Mr. Williams in flowing white robes officiated," (McCall's journal) and also when, the wife of the commanding officer belonging to that sect, the Methodists held regular services in the mess room. During the command of Captain Moses E. Merrill, a detachment was marched each Sunday morning to old Christ church.

Occasionally a flurry of military excitement was wafted over the garrison as in the incident of the Black Hawk war, in 1832, when only seventeen soldiers were left in the fort under the command of Captain Nathan Clark for the protection of the country between the Mississippi and Green Bay. The description of Fort Howard at this date does not represent it as a very practical place of defense, the picketing having become rotten, much of it was removed, and "preparations were made for receiving the citizens and their property within the stockade, it having been patched out, by horizontal timbers across the curtains." This point being a rendezvous for the Menominees it was feared that the hostile Indians would make it a point of attack, the primary cause for the uprising and calling out of United States troops being the murder of a band of Menominees by Sanks and Foxes in their village near Fort Snelling the spring previous.

It was during Captain Clark's command that the murder of a young officer occurred at the fort. The perpetrator of the deed, Doyle, a private soldier had for some offence been placed by Lieutenant Foster's orders in confinement. Doyle persuaded the sergeant of the guard to allow him an interview with the lieutenant, and when brought into his presence wrenched the gun from the sergeant's hand and sent a bullet through the heart of the officer, who gave one sigh and fell dead. Doyle was hung outside the stockaded wall of the fort.

The two important highways, known for many years as the military roads, one following Fox river to Fond du Lac and striking across country to the Fox-Wisconsin portage, the other running southeast to Manitowoc and from thence along the lake shore to Chicago, were commenced about 1833. The Fort Winnebago road, for twelve miles, was laid out and superintended by Captain Martin Scott and was considered a marvel of engineering at the time, straight as an arrow and absolutely free from stumps and underbrush, its principal guide post a tall pine tree which towered above the rest of the forest and was crowned by an eagle's nest. These highways through the forest were made by detachments of soldiers who worked a week in turn under the command of an officer.

Even as late as 1834, Fort Howard was more completely separated from civilized life than is any United States fort of the present day. It was garrisoned continuously from 1828 up to the latter part of the Seminole war in 1841, when the regiment was ordered to Florida. Following Captain Nathan Clark as commandant, was Major A. G. W. Fanning, who was relieved in 1833 by General George M. Brooke. In the summer of that year Black Hawk, under military guard passed down Fox river, and was held at the fort for a few days on his journey to the east and final imprisonment, and in 1834, General Brooke appears as entertaining the Right Reverend Jackson Kemper, at dinner. Dur-

ing this same pastoral visitation of the famous missionary bishop, the following entry occurs under date of July 24, in Kemper's journal: "Dined at Mr. Whitney's at Navarino, nearly a dozen officers from the garrison in full uniform—pitcher full of lemonade and port, madeira and champagne wines—roast pig, veal, ham, venison and veal pie—sallid—cranberry (abound here) tarts and floating islands—cheese, raisins, almonds, English walnuts filberts. The two doctors of the fort drank no wine—have established a soc. there which now includes 80 odd, on principle of total abstinence. Lieutenant Clary belongs to it likewise."

Mrs. Brooke, the wife of the commanding officer at this time, was as a strict Methodist, strongly opposed to the use of intoxicating liquors, so although the General appears to have mingled in all the gayeties and dinings of the town, his wife's influence undoubtedly changed the tone of garrison life, for Lieutenant William Chapman, writing home to Virginia in 1835, speaks of the austere society element that was gradually replacing the free and easy life of former days. The young officers under Brooke were men of exceptional worth and many gained distinction and high rank in later years. Lieutenant Randolph B. Marcy, who was second lieutenant in the Fifth infantry from 1833 to 1838, at Fort Howard, was later inspector general of the United States army. His daughter Ellen, born at Fort Howard, became the wife of General George B. McClellan. Moses E. Merrill, Martin Scott, the two Kirby Smiths, Caleb Sibley, W. B. Rosselle, William H. Chapman, John C. Robinson, were all men of high character and brave officers.

Captain Martin Scott is one of the most picturesque characters of the American occupation; a man of many eccentricities and famous in his youth among the sharpshooters of the Green mountains. His wonderful success in the use of a gun gave rise to his boast that no bullet ever moulded could strike Martin Scott—a prediction unfulfilled in the end. He was a man who thoroughly enjoyed life—a great hunter, a horseman and a famous shot. Many stories are related of his marvellous skill; of his throwing two potatoes in the air, and piercing them both with a single shot; of the coon that offered to come down from the tree when it saw Scott below; and of the duel where the generous Martin so skilfully shot away the diseased portion of his adversary's liver as to restore him to better health than he had before known. He never took aim, simply looked at an object and fired, the butt of the gun at his hip. Rows of dog kennels lined the path to his front door, and out to the southwest of Fort Howard was Scott's half-mile race track. In the gentler arts of floriculture and horticulture he was also noted; and flowers, shrubs and trees transformed the grounds around his quarters into a veritable little park.

General Brook was succeeded in command at Fort Howard in 1837, by Captain Moses E. Merrill, a man of honorable and sterling character, much esteemed by the towns people. Intercourse between the fort and civilians was constant and most friendly. During the famous land sales held at Green Bay in 1834, many of the officers then at the garrison bought land and in this way made quite snug little fortunes.

The surgeons stationed at Fort Howard from 1824 on, were an important factor in the life of the time, for there were no other physicians within two hundred miles, so that in sickness or accident messengers would hurry to the fort to obtain medical aid. Dr. William S. Madison, post surgeon at Fort Howard

in 1821, was undoubtedly the first physician to come to Brown county, or indeed Wisconsin.

Madison married according to the custom of the time and place an Indian girl, and may have intended to desert her, for he was on his way to visit his family in Kentucky, when shot by Ke-tau-ka, brother of the girl, who was acting as guide.

While the garrison party was resting not far from the lake, where Manitowoc is located today, Ke-tau-ka wandered away to an Indian village, where he found a band of his people commemorating their exploits in war by throwing a hatchet at a post as many times as they had killed men. They taunted the strange lad on never having slain anyone, when he immediately returned to the camp and stealing up behind Dr. Madison, who was leaning against a tree, shot him in the back. Returning, he informed his band of the deed accomplished, but far from upholding him in the crime, they seized him, and handed him over to the Fort Howard detachment, but Dr. Madison had already died. The Indian was taken to Detroit for trial and later executed, the manuscript record of the case forming interesting data in Brown county history.

In 1824, Dr. Walter V. Wheaton held the position of post surgeon, a favorite alike with the garrison and civilians. He was an able physician, was fond of society,—a great recommendation in those days,—had a pretty wife and a scapegrace young brother, who on one occasion in the absence of Dr. Wheaton, successfully amputated the leg of a soldier who had lost his way on the bay and been badly frozen.

The most celebrated of the army surgeons stationed at Fort Howard was Dr. William Beaumont, who succeeded Dr. Wheaton in 1826. Near the surgeon's quarters in the old fort at Mackinac Island, stands a rough boulder with tablet attached, erected by the Michigan Medical Society to commemorate the experiments of this eminent physician, who after leaving Fort Howard, was stationed at Michilimackinac in the early thirties.

A French voyageur, Alexis St. Martin, a typical resident of the fur trading villages of that day, living in one of the quaint houses covered with bark that in old times were strung along Mackinac's water's edge, was accidentally shot in the stomach while lounging in the Astor company's trading house.

The surgeon from the fort on the hill, Dr. Beaumont, was hastily summoned who, after making an examination and dressing the wound, left, saying that the young man would probably die before morning. The next day the doctor found St. Martin not only still living, but showing increased vitality, and the case became interesting. In time a curtain of skin grew over the aperture, and by lifting this the physician could follow the process of digestion perfectly. Beaumont's experiments and memoranda, which he carefully kept for years, have proved of great and permanent value, and as the memorial tablet records, added glory to his name and to the profession which he adorned.

Doctor Beaumont was followed at Fort Howard by Doctor Lyman Foote, distinguished as a physician in army circles, and also having a large outside practice. He in turn was succeeded by Doctor Satterlee, who with his wife came to the Fox river fort in the early thirties. They were a young and handsome couple, much liked by the civilians, and were among those instrumental in establishing the Presbyterian church in Green Bay. Doctor Worrell seems



FORT HOWARD MEMORIAL TABLET

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to have been stationed at the fort at the same period; in the meantime, however, Doctor David Ward had taken up his residence in Menomineeville, and later in Wrightstown and in addition to his regular practice among the townsfolk and those in the vicinity, served as fort surgeon when any vacancy occurred. He also attended the detachment of troops engaged in putting through the military road and became thoroughly acquainted with the country.

In 1841, in order to quell the disturbances ensuing on the Seminole war, the old Fifth, so long identified with Brown county garrison life was ordered to Florida, the last officers to leave being Captain Moses E. Merrill, First Lieutenant, William Root, Second Lieutenant, John C. Robinson of Company K. It was a dismal day for the entire region when the fort was definitely abandoned. The cantonment glistening with whitewash, trim and picturesque in its setting of green fields, forest and stream, and which had so long dominated the landscape still remained, but the kindly, pleasant, cultivated people who had called it home left in their departure a great gap in the social interests of the place. With the withdrawal of the troops passed too the military atmosphere of garrison occupation; bugle calls echoing sweetly over water and hillside, the roll of drums, the crack of rifle practice.

In the war with Mexico, Fort Howard furnished no quota of troops, but the sympathy of the Brown county people was deeply enlisted because of the prominent part taken throughout, by their especial regiment, the Fifth, for so many years associated with their life. Relatives and friends of this and other regiments still resided in the town, and among those who had resigned from the army and liked Brown county so well that they remained here were Colonel Lee, Captain John Cotton, Samuel Ryan, senior, Thomas Canm, William Root and others. When war was declared the Fifth concentrated in Texas, joining the army of occupation under a former Fort Howard commandant, General Zachary Taylor, "old rough and ready" as he was dubbed.

Letters are still preserved written from the front by Lieutenants William Chapman and John C. Robinson, telling of the siege of Monterey, its capture, and the fortifying of the Bishop's Palace by United States troops. The Fifth participated in all the engagements of the war excepting that of Buena Vista. It formed the rear guard of the army in the march from the city of Mexico when peace was declared; the last company to evacuate the city being commanded by Lieutenant Robinson. At the battle of Molino del Rey, Captain Moses E. Merrill, Martin Scott and Kirby Smith were killed, and Lieutenant (later Colonel) William Chapman was wounded.

The one newspaper published in Brown county at this time, the Green Bay Advocate, is filled with "latest dispatches from the front," but it was often months before news from far off Mexico was received. Beginning with 1841, Major Ephraim Shaylor, a veteran of 1812, was placed in charge of the military reserve with a sergeant and orderly under him; otherwise the fort remained ungarrisoned. In 1849, Fort Howard was repaired and renovated, for the reception of Col. Francis Lee, and later of Lieut.-Col. Benjamin L. E. Bonneville, with a detachment of the Fourth regiment of infantry. The government had, however, definitely determined to abandon the old fort as a point of defense, although its situation rendered it of especial value in the event of a war with England. The troops were ordered to California in 1852 when Major Shaylor

was again placed in charge. The old stockade about twelve feet high, consisting of timbers from ten to twelve inches square, closely set together, with numerous loop-holes, splayed within for observation and for firing, stood stoutly for several years, then gradually began to decay and sag down. The houses along its line also fell into dilapidation, only the commanding officer's quarters, a handsome well-built house with pillared balconies above and below, which faced eastward overlooking the parade ground, remained in fairly good condition. The solitary elm which stands today in the railway yards and has been protected by a surrounding fence through the care of the Chicago and North Western Railway Company, was just south of this house and about forty feet west of the stockade.

To the southwest of the fort on a sandy knoll lay the cemetery. In digging, water was reached a short distance below the surface, for the surrounding country was very low, and the soldiers used to say that they would hate to die at Fort Howard, as it was bad enough to die without being drowned afterward. The stone foundation of the old government (or commissary's) warehouse can still be traced north of the Chicago and Northwestern railway station. This building stood outside the fort stockade some sixty feet nearer to the river, and just north from the sallyport. It had three stories above the basement. In 1862 and 1863 it was used as a warehouse by Dousman and Elmore, and was later removed by Hiram Cornell to Valentine, Nebraska, where for a time it served as the county court house. On the river shore a few feet to the south of this old foundation and in front of where the sally-port used to be, there can be seen at low water the piles of stones that were in the cribs supporting the government pier.

Outside the stockade, and some fifty feet to the south stood the square stone magazine, with metal doors and roof, nothing of which remains but the heavy iron key and bolt, which have been placed in the Kellogg Public Library for safe keeping. South of the magazine was the hospital, a broad roomy building with deep porch running the entire length, supported by eight stout pillars. There was a long sweep of roof to the top of the first story, broken in the front by three deep dormer windows, and in the rear by dormer windows and chimney. This building has been removed to the northeast corner of Chestnut avenue and Kellogg street and is occupied as a residence. The ward room which ran back of the main building has also been moved on an adjoining lot.

The hospital building was it is said much used for festivities during the old days of the fort's occupancy. Here the officers held dancing parties for the entertainment of the townspeople, who would return these civilities in like manner and at the same place. South of the hospital stood the surgeon's quarters, one of the prettiest of the fort buildings, but which has been entirely remodeled and is now located at 410 Maple avenue. At the southeast corner of Chestnut avenue and Mather street, is the old kitchen of the commanding officer's quarters, the only building now in existence which stood inside the fort stockade.

In the yards of the Chicago and Northwestern road close to Main street bridge is a huge rough boulder and attached to it a beautiful tablet of bronze bearing at the top a picture in relief of old Fort Howard as it was in 1851. It also bears this inscription: 1718—1909. Erected by the Green Bay Historical Society—1909. 853 north, 45 degrees 7 minutes west from this tablet stands a flag pole marking the southeast corner of the stockade of Fort Howard occupied by the

United States troops August, 1816, and almost continuously until 1852. On this site also stood the French fort St. Francis, built prior to 1718, and rebuilt by the British in 1761 as Fort Edward Augustus.

The later history of the fort belongs to the Civil war period, and is in many ways quite as interesting and historic as was that of other days; but conditions had changed throughout the whole northwest, and the sixties were a time of storm and stress; hard, poverty-stricken years, with none of the glamour gilding an earlier age. There is no gay music and light-footed dance, only the sombre tread of armed men, and the creak of the draft wheel which named the soldiers who were to fill out Wisconsin's great quota of troops ordered to the front, while the girls of that period picked lint and rolled bandages to be sent to the wounded, instead of spending long days on the river, or embarking with gallant officers in the government barge for a frolic at Old Fort Howard.

(References for Chap. XIV; American State Papers, Wis. Hist. Colls. Vols. 7, 8, 13, 19; Ms. Letters; Schoolcraft's Journal; W. L. Evans, Mil. Hist. of G. B.; W. H. Proc., 1899; Curtis R. Merrill, Ms. Papers.)

CHAPTER XV

BROWN COUNTY'S PART IN THE MAKING OF WISCONSIN—TERRITORY AND STATE

Through all this gay, free and easy life of 1824, and for the ten years ensuing, ran the strong and earnest efforts of able men intent on bringing to the front commercially and politically the county of Brown. To the men of Brown county, the center of settlement at that time, more than to those of any other part of Wisconsin, is due the early organization of the state. Thoroughly imbued with a belief in its commercial importance and resources, pioneers such as Doty, Baird, Martin, Ellis, Robert and Alexander J. Irwin, Ebenezer Childs and others, as they became identified with its life began to urge that this area west of Lake Michigan be set apart as an independent commonwealth. In this strife for statehood James Duane Doty was prime mover and supporter. As early as 1824, he drew up a bill for organizing "Chippewau Territory," which was to include all that country lying between the northern boundary of the United States on the north, and the state line of Illinois and Missouri on the south. Its eastern limit was defined by a line running from Sault Ste. Marie due south; the western by the Missouri river. Congress failed to act upon this proposition, but three years later Doty was again at work in behalf of his project. This time he suggested instead of "Chippewau" the name "Wiskonsin," a form of spelling the word always persisted in by him. In January, 1830, Doty succeeded in inducing the Committee on Territories to introduce a "Bill establishing the Territory of Huron," and it is possible that this scheme might have been adopted had there not now developed a somewhat bitter and wordy rivalry between the two centres of population in the would-be territory; the rapidly developing industrial region of the lead mines, and the commercially important centre of political life, the valley of the Fox. In this same year Daniel Whitney built the shot tower at Helena, on the Wisconsin river, an ambitious but practical attempt to utilize the large quantities of ore taken from the mines only a few miles away.

In connection with the establishment of the shot tower Whitney also built a large general store which soon rivaled similar supply stations at the Portage, goods being purchased there for Galena and other towns in the vicinity. A lumber yard was added later, for Daniel Whitney owned a number of the first mills throughout Wisconsin. A letter of that period states that "this establishment would do honor to any old settlement in the east; the public spirit of the proprietors deserves remuneration in the profits of their business. Five thousand weight of shot is the usual quantity made per diem by one set, that is six hands—twice the quantity can be made by doubling the hands." In Judge Doty's estimate of the commerce upon the upper lakes and the exports from this portion of Michigan Territory as early as 1829 he places the amount of lead shipped

at 10,000,000 pounds, which shows the importance of this industry for the lower Fox as well as the lead-mining district.

The "Inhabitants of the County of Brown in the Territory of Michigan" continued to respectfully solicit the attention of Congress to their remote situation. For all purposes of government they say they might as well be annexed to New York or Pennsylvania as to Michigan Territory. That their claims for recognition are constantly ignored, and with the growing needs of this section of the country serious evils are the result of the great distance at which they are placed from the governing power. All civil officers for counties and towns must receive their appointment from the governor of Michigan Territory before they are empowered to act, and the most important offices remain vacant for months before the appointing and removing power at Detroit can give the matter attention. * * * that the petitioners inhabit a district of country which has at all times been considered of the greatest importance politically to the government * * * and therefore the petitioners humbly pray that Michigan Territory may be divided into two separate governments, and that such form of government may be provided for that section of the Territory in which they reside as Congress in its wisdom may deem suitable and necessary; and that the seat of government may be established upon the Fox river in the said county of Brown, the settlement upon the said river being the only central settlement within the contemplated Territory." (W. H. C. Vol. 14.)

Judge Doty's estimate at this period of the advantages of Brown county as a place of residence, in urging its claim for recognition as a separate territory, is interesting. The climate and soil he reports are all that could possibly be desired; at the Bay, vessels arrive and depart almost weekly during the spring, summer and autumn, rendering it accessible from the outside world. The commerce upon the upper lakes is increasing rapidly, and the exports from this portion of Michigan Territory, are estimated to consist annually of furs and peltries valued at \$300,000, white fish 800 to 1,000 barrels, maple sugar 200,000 pounds and lead, as before stated, 10,000,000 pounds.

Another bill to create a new territory out of western Michigan passed the House in 1831, but largely because of the local quarrel over the place for the capital failed in the Senate. The following year the matter was again before Congress, and yet again in 1834; both of these attempts, however, proving futile. In June, 1834, the boundaries of Michigan Territory were enlarged to include the Mississippi country, and the agitation for division was now encouraged by the dwellers at Detroit and eastern Michigan, it being admitted that for practical purposes the bounds of the proposed commonwealth would be far too extensive.

During the year 1835, and the early part of 1836, owing to a dispute as to boundaries between Michigan and Ohio there was delay in the formation of Michigan state, and consequent interruption in the proceedings toward the organization into a separate territory of the counties west of the great lakes. Pending the action of Congress the Legislative Council of Michigan Territory met in Detroit, August 27, 1835, with Stevens T. Mason as secretary and acting governor. A proclamation was issued by Governor Mason, appointing January first, 1836, for the assembling of the members of the territory's legislative council at Green Bay. There is considerable confusion both in dates and data regarding this last session of Michigan's territorial council, and the first of the embryo territory of

Wisconsin, owing to the state of affairs at that time. Michigan was confidently expecting the prompt action of Congress awarding her statehood, and outside of her prospective limits as a state lay that area stretching many miles westward which for seventeen years had been recognized as a part of Michigan Territory, and still held that name, although not to be incorporated in the new state. It was primarily for the benefit of these western counties that Governor Mason arranged that a territorial legislative council should be held at Green Bay in the early part of January, 1836.

Michigan, on the presumption that statehood would readily be granted as soon as Congress convened, had adopted a state constitution during 1835, and in October of that year an election of state officers was held. Governor Mason, although as yet unauthorized by the federal power, had set in motion the machinery of state government and it was now in full operation, save for the judicial branch, which was not organized until the fourth of July, 1836. The country west of Lake Michigan was "no man's land" as far as the new state was concerned, but its inhabitants naturally still counted themselves and persisted in their rights as citizens of Michigan Territory, and Governor Mason's proclamation for the calling together of a legislative council at Green Bay strengthened them in their position.

John Scott Horner had in September, 1835, a month before the state election, been appointed by President Jackson as secretary and acting governor of Michigan Territory. The coming to Detroit of this young and apparently tactless Virginian, who was quite unfamiliar with western men and affairs was regarded as an intrusion and aroused a spirit of opposition; so that the unfortunate official was subjected to neglect and more than once to actual insult.

In the month of November, 1835, Horner in his capacity of acting governor ignored the previous proclamation issued by Governor Mason and "for divers good causes and considerations" changed the date of meeting of the territorial legislative council from the first day of January, 1836, to the first day of December, 1835, just one month earlier. Confusion reigned in consequence of this unforeseen state of affairs. The season of the year, the uncertain roads throughout the territory, the unavoidable delay of the mail service with a carrier who was obliged to traverse the several sparsely inhabited counties through thick woods and on foot, absolutely prohibited the attendance of members-elect at the specified time and place.

The seventh legislative council of Michigan Territory met in Navarino on the first of January 1836, the date set by Governor Mason, in a small house on Main street just east of the present Beaumont Hotel. Governor Horner did not appear, so the council organized temporarily by electing Joseph B. Teas, president pro tem., Albert G. Ellis, secretary pro tem., and Levi Sterling, sergeant-at-arms, pro tem. The oath of office was administered by Secretary Ellis, acting in his capacity as justice of the peace of Brown county. Nine members were present, four absent, but a quorum was secured, permanent officers elected, and business was transacted in due form. A committee of two was appointed to wait upon Governor Horner and inform him that the council was organized and ready to receive any communication he might have to make, but at the following session on January fourth, the committee reported that they had not been able

to perform the duty assigned them in consequence of the absence of the acting governor from Green Bay.

Thoroughly exasperated by what they considered gross disrespect in the executive towards this dignified and legal assemblage, the council ended by censuring Governor Horner in these words, "That John S. Horner, Secretary and Acting Governor of Michigan Territory has forfeited all just claims to the confidence of the people, and from his incapacity and disregard of his official obligations and duties to the country, he is in the opinion of this council unworthy of the high office which he fills.

"That the President of the United States be and is hereby requested in behalf of the people of the Territory to revoke the commission of the said John S. Horner, and to appoint some other person better qualified to fulfill the duties of the office."

Notwithstanding this discourteous and ill-advised action of Governor Horner toward the Green Bay assembly he proved himself at other times an able and astute executive, prompt and decisive, although given to oddities of dress and manner. He later became a resident of Green Bay and for many years he and his charming wife and family lived in the pillared house which formerly occupied the site where S. H. Cady's home stands today.

President Jackson refused to accede to the request made by the irate council that Horner be removed from office, and beyond their caustic arraignment of the absentee, renewed bickerings over the location of the proposed territorial capital of Wisconsin, and the adoption of a report declaring that the people of Michigan had been ruled "rather as a distant colony than as an integral portion of the same government," little was accomplished in Michigan's seventh legislative council at Green Bay. On the ninth of January the meeting adjourned sine die, and through lonely, often trackless forests the disgruntled members of the first Legislative council of Wisconsin Territory made their way homeward. The military road from Fort Howard to Fort Winnebago had been partially completed the preceding summer but beyond this piece of passable road the stumps concealed by the heavy snow were a constant menace, upsetting the sleighs and being responsible for more than one broken limb. For this reason travel in winter was usually on horseback unless one could take the river track on the ice, which was a favorite method of reaching one's destination.

There still remained the difficulty of establishing a boundary between the would-be Territory of Wisconsin and the projected state of Michigan. This being finally arranged Wisconsin Territory was erected by Congress under a bill approved April 20, 1836, to take effect "from and after the third day of July next" and Michigan was admitted to statehood on June 15, 1836. The territory was given practically the same boundaries as has the present state of Wisconsin, so far as the state lines of Michigan and Illinois were concerned; but to the south and west its limits ran far beyond the state's present bounds, including all that land west of the Mississippi which had been annexed in 1834, to the territory of Michigan. The act establishing the territory provided that the governor should be appointed by the President of the United States; he was also to be made superintendent of Indian affairs and commander in chief of the territorial militia, and his annual salary was fixed at \$2,500.

The first appointments made by the President and Senate of the several offi-

cers provided for by that act were: governor, Henry Dodge of Dodgeville, Wisconsin; secretary, John S. Horner of Virginia, and later of Green Bay; Charles Dunn of Illinois as chief justice, and as associate judges, David Irvin of Virginia and William C. Frazer of Pennsylvania, both of whom respectively presided over the circuit court of Brown county.

On the ninth of September, 1836, Governor Dodge issued a proclamation to the effect that he had apportioned the members of the council and house of representatives amongst the several counties of the territory, the number allotted to Brown county being two members of the Council and three of the House of Representatives. It was further proclaimed that the first election should be held on the second Monday of October, and that the members elected from the several counties should convene at Belmont, Iowa county, on the twenty-fifth of October for the purpose of organizing the first session of the Legislative Assembly. It was also directed and appointed that at the same time and place specified for this first election a delegate to Congress for the term of two years should be elected. This was done, and George W. Jones of Iowa county, elected as the Congressional delegate over the rival candidates, James D. Doty and Morgan L. Martin, of Brown. The names and native towns of the members elected by Brown county for this first Legislative Assembly were: in the Council, Henry S. Baird of Dublin, Ireland, who was made president of the Council and John P. Arndt, of Northampton, Pennsylvania. In the House of Representatives, Ebenezer Childs, Worcester county, Massachusetts, Albert G. Ellis, Oneida county, New York and Alexander J. Irwin, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, were the members from Brown.

Nine thousand, four hundred dollars was allowed by Congress for the expenses of this first and important session of the new territory's governmental body. This amount was supposed to include printing and other incidentals; but the cost actually incurred aggregated eighteen thousand and eighty dollars, thought at the time to be an exorbitant expenditure. A number of memorials to Congress were adopted, Brown county, petitioning among other things, for aid in the construction of a pier and beacon light at Long Tail Point at the head of Green Bay. For this harbor improvement an appropriation of twenty thousand dollars was asked, and an additional six hundred for buoys, to mark the ship channel from the proposed lighthouse to the mouth of Fox river. Navigation was very difficult at this period in reaching "the city" as the old French voyageurs called the settlement on Fox river. The bill asking that a lighthouse be erected recites that the entrance to Fox river requires many lights and buoys, and the bay is described by the first government engineers as "difficult of navigation, full of shoals and rocky reefs." This was thirty-two years prior to the cutting of a channel through Grassy Island, and the sandy shoal of Point au Sable which extended in a westerly direction three and one-half miles from the end of the point was a menace to boats of all descriptions. Point au Sable was an old Indian camping ground, its shallow water offering no bar to the bark canoe, and Bass Channel, west of Grassy Island Light Station was a favorite cut-off for canoes and small craft at an early day. It was, moreover, a famous place for fishing and hunting.

The members of the first territorial legislature had enlarged views of the wants and future possibilities of Wisconsin internal navigation. Memorials

were presented to Congress on the improvement of all the rivers and harbors throughout the territory, and petition was also made for a grant of land for a railroad across the state from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river.

At this first Legislative Council of the Territory of Wisconsin an act was also passed which provided that the county seat of Brown county should be established either at Navarino, Astor or De Pere as might be decided by vote of the people, Menomineeville for some unexplained reason being out of the running, although from the year 1824 it had held the distinction of being the county seat. Navarino and Astor at this time was each jealously putting forth a rival claim to being the most important village in the new territory, but the year previous and contemporary with the platting of Astor, the De Pere Hydraulic Company had been incorporated by act of legislature and the town of De Pere platted.

As early as 1804 settlement had begun at the Rapides des Peres near the site of the old Jesuit church. Arpents of land were marked off by French settlers and habitants were building their cabins at this desirable location early in the nineteenth century. When William Dickenson, the first American settler took up his residence there in 1829, there was continuous, although sparse settlement all along the shore from the Little Kakalin to Rock or Des Peres rapids. Extending from there to Fort Howard was a succession of snug log cabins, with here and there a two-story structure. Across Fox river at the head of the rapids a dam was authorized to be built by act of legislature approved January 26, 1835, by William Dickenson, Charles Tullar and John P. Arndt. The dam was subsequently built, the utility of the great water power recognized and the two De Peres with their large manufacturing interests grew up at that point.

At this same session of the Michigan Legislature of 1835 the act incorporating a bank west of Lake Michigan was passed, the title of which was "an act to incorporate the stockholders of the Bank of Wisconsin." The bill provided that a bank should be established in the county of Brown or Iowa, at such place as a majority of the stockholders should determine; the capital stock was to be \$100,000 in shares of fifty dollars each. The bank opened at Green Bay in the town of Astor in 1835 and was known as the Bank of Wisconsin. The building which it occupied was erected by the Astor Fur Company, a rambling two-story structure which extended the width of the block on the north side of Chicago street between Adams and Washington. The stone vault which was built for this first bank in Wisconsin was still standing in 1899, its heavy door defying the corrosion of time.

The year 1837 spelled financial panic and ruin throughout the United States. In the new territory of Wisconsin, following as it did close upon the wild speculations in land deals the effect was disastrous in the extreme. The Hydraulic Company of De Pere was thrown upon its beam's end by the hard times, and in May and June of the year 1837, banks throughout the country suspended specie payment.

The bank of Wisconsin at Green Bay was in active operation, but in November, 1837, a committee was appointed to examine into the affairs and condition of the bank and later united in reporting that the institution was in a sound and solvent condition. /

Rumors of the bank's insolvency were reported during the year 1838, and in consequence the Legislative Assembly of that year passed an act that the Attorney General of the territory commence suit by injunction to close up all proceedings of said bank and annul its charter, authorizing the court moreover to appoint a receiver to take charge of the property, collect its debts, and pay its creditors the proportions due them. Upon the passage of this act Henry S. Baird, the Attorney General resigned his office, and the Governor appointed Henry N. Wells his successor. Baird, as president of the first Wisconsin Legislative Council had resigned that position to accept the office of Attorney General, and this definite refusal to assume the responsibility of closing up the affairs of the Bank at Green Bay was doubtless due to the fact that James Duane Doty, Morgan L. Martin and other friends were incorporators of the bank and heavily involved in its downfall.

The "wild cat banks," as all those in this western country were designated at that time, did not cover in their failure what is included in the suspension of a bank at the present time. The incorporators, officers and stockholders were the losers, and the effect was disastrous to the large interests of the territory, but the mass of the people did not as now deposit in banks to any extent and were but little affected personally by the catastrophe. The amount of actual cash was scarce west of Lake Michigan until the shipment of lumber, fish and other exports to outside ports brought in money to the different towns.

An early settler and much respected resident of Duck Creek in former years says that barter was this time and up to the year 1860 the accepted mode of trade, hampering to a large degree the merchant doing business in the various towns, who was forced to pay cash for his stock of goods. A farmer, would, for instance, go to the village of Fort Howard for a pair of shoes, and would pay for them in garden produce, which must in turn be exchanged by the shoemaker for still another article of trade, and so on, indefinitely, with perhaps no real monetary return in the result.

Outside capital came to the relief of the Hydraulic Company and in 1847 it passed into the hands of Joshua F. Cox of New York, who had obtained control of the water power and property. That same year the old dam at De Pere gave way and in 1848, Cox through his agent, David M. Loy, built the present dam. The death of Cox occurred not long after, the property passed into the hands of certain New York parties, and later was acquired by Joseph G. Lawton and others at De Pere, who incorporated as the "De Pere Company" in 1854. Twenty-seven years later, July 19, 1881, the property was sold under foreclosure of mortgage to the Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company, the real estate, buildings and so forth, being bid in by the company for \$19,945, the water power for \$10,000.

The second session of the third Legislative Assembly convened at Madison, December 6, 1841. It was in many respects an unusual gathering of men; about one-third were natives of slave states, and fifteen gave farming as their occupation, showing that agriculture had at last taken firm hold on the pioneers of the state. The members of the Legislative Council from Brown were Charles P. Arndt, at that time Judge of Probate for the county of Brown, and Morgan Lewis Martin; in the House, Albert G. Ellis, Moses C. Darling and David Gid-

dings. The delegates from Brown county also represented the counties of Fond du Lac, Manitowoc and Sheboygan.

In September, 1841, Governor Dodge was removed from the governorship by President Tyler, and in his place was appointed James D. Doty, a man of marked ability, and already thoroughly identified with Brown county's history. Both he and his cousin, Morgan L. Martin were leaders in territorial organization and in the political life of Wisconsin, but were never in accord politically, and the friction between these two acknowledged leaders which sometimes came to open rupture, caused also dissention in territorial sessions.

Governor Doty assumed control in November, 1841, and a month later the legislature convened. It was from the first a stormy session; the Governor refusing to cooperate with the legislature; there were disputes on the floor, and a tragedy the most terrible of any that ever occurred in Wisconsin legislative halls took place in February, 1842.

In the seventh legislative council of Michigan, which as we have seen convened at Green Bay in January, 1836, James R. Vineyard of Grant county was a member. He made his home while in the town with the family of John P. Arndt, a prominent pioneer resident, and who with his wife were among the highly regarded of Green Bay's early citizens. The Arndt's were liberal, warm-hearted people, and Vineyard grew well acquainted with the son, Charles Arndt, at that time judge of the Brown county court, and editor of the Green Bay Republican.

When Charles Arndt was elected a member of the council from Brown county, the acquaintance begun in Green Bay between Vineyard and Arndt was renewed and the two young men were much together. On the evening of February 10, 1842, there was a large ball given in territorial circles in Madison, Vineyard and Arndt acting as managers. Both worked hard, for it was no small task to arrange for a social event of importance with the crude resources of that period, but although tired out with their efforts to make the affair a success the two men seemed on the best of terms when they met in the council chamber on the following day.

The difficulty grew out of a debate on a motion to lay on the table the nomination by Governor Doty of Enos S. Baker to the office of sheriff of Grant county. Arndt opposed this, and supported Baker's nomination, saying that Vineyard had given the highest testimonials as to the nominee's character. Upon his making this remark Vineyard turned partly around and said it was a falsehood. Some words passed, the president, Moses E. Strong, called "order" and quiet was restored.

After the council had adjourned Arndt stepped up to Vineyard's desk and asked him for an explanation, demanding that he retract his words. This, Vineyard refused to do, at the same time repeating that Arndt's words were false. Arndt then aimed a blow at Vineyard; members crowded around; one or two blows passed, there was a shot; Arndt reeled, and moved towards the fireplace, his hands on his breast; some one rushed forward and caught him as he fell; he never spoke and died within five minutes. His father, John P. Arndt, who had reached Madison only the day previous on a visit to his son was present and saw the deed. Vineyard immediately surrendered himself to the sheriff, waived an examination and was committed to jail. Arndt's colleague, Morgan L. Mar-



BUTTE DES MORTES IN 1897

tin, on the following day, addressed the council on the death of Arndt and offered resolutions of sympathy with the widow and in regard to preparations for the funeral, which were adopted. He also drew up the resolutions which were offered by Ebenezer Brigham of Dane county, formally expelling Vineyard from the council. Vineyard's resignation was sent to the council but was returned unopened. Charles Dickens, the distinguished novelist was visiting in the United States at this time and the newspaper accounts of the legislative tragedy furnished a dramatic theme for the great writer in his arraignment of the undisciplined state of society throughout the country. In his *American Notes* he published word for word the story as given by Charles Sholes, who preceded Charles Arndt in the editorship of the *Green Bay Republican*, and who, with his brother, Latham, had moved to Southport or as it is now called Racine, where they had gone into newspaper work, and were editing the *Southport Telegraph*.

Andrew E. Elmore, a prominent figure in legislative halls for many years (as member from Milwaukee county) gives the following reminiscence of James R. Vineyard seven years after the fatal encounter with Arndt. Although feeling against the homicide had been very deep and widespread, and Judge Dunn had been strongly censured for his decision that the act had been committed in self defense, yet in 1849 Vineyard was again in the state legislature as member from Grant county. "When the committee appointed to report on the question as to whether the judiciary should be by appointment or election * * * there was a great commotion, one calling out this, another that. James Magone of Milwaukee, a bright man with a fine mind, called Moses M. Strong a liar, whereupon Strong lifted his heavy cane and hurled it at Magone. It struck the desk and made a deep dent in the wood. Some one called for an adjournment, and the members rushed out. I sat still, every moment expecting to hear shots fired; but James R. Vineyard who had been sitting at my side, threw his arms around Strong and with the tears streaming down his face cried, 'Don't shoot. Look at me, look at me.' He told me later he had never had a happy moment since he shot Charles Arndt."

Governor Doty's administration was something of a disappointment to his ardent supporters; his refusal to cooperate with the state legislature causing constant delay in the execution of official business. The governor was, however, insistently pressing the subject of statehood, which did not meet with popular favor and was publicly denounced as "Doty's pet hobby," until 1846, when a wave of popular demand for immediate statehood swept over the territory. By order of the legislature a vote on this question was taken on the first Tuesday of April, 1846,—the franchise being restricted to "every white male inhabitant above the age of twenty-one years, who shall have resided in the territory for six months." The result was about six to one in the affirmative. Meanwhile a bill enabling Wisconsin to become a state was introduced in Congress, January 9, 1846, by Morgan L. Martin, the territorial delegate. Passing Congress it was approved by the president on August 10.

Governor Dodge, who was again in the gubernatorial chair, issued on the first of August a proclamation calling a constitutional convention, which held its session at Madison between October 5 and December 16, with Don J. Upham of Milwaukee as presiding officer. In this body some pugnacious members

desired to place in the constitution a proviso that Wisconsin would accept statehood only on the condition that she be "restored to her ancient boundaries." But this bit of bluster failed of passage, as did another proposition to establish a new state along the south shore of Lake Superior, to be named after that body of water; . . . The constitution, for the most part an exceptionably able document, was rejected by the people (April 5, 1847) upon a vote of ayes 14,118, nays 20,321. The democrats opposed those articles on the rights of married women and exemptions from forced sales; while the whigs disliked the restrictions that, with a caution born of intense popular distrust, had been placed upon banking and bank circulation.

The second constitutional convention assembled in Madison on December 15, 1847, with Morgan L. Martin of Brown county as president. The territory now boasted of a population of 210,456, and the desire for statehood had become all but universal. The new constitution, carefully avoiding the rocks upon which its predecessor had been wrecked, was adopted by the people on March 13, 1848, ayes 16,799, nays 6,384. On May 29, President Polk approved a new act of congress, based upon the accepted constitution, whereby Wisconsin was at last admitted to the sisterhood of states. (Thwaites, Wisconsin.)

(References for Chap. XV: W. H. C. 1905; Strong, Territorial Wis.; Thwaites, Wisconsin; Wis. Territory, 1st Leg. Assembly; Andrew E. Elmore, Wis. Hist. Proc. 1910.)

CHAPTER XVI

COUNTY AND TOWN GOVERNMENT

When Governor Lewis Cass organized by proclamation the county of Brown in the territory of Michigan, the terms of said proclamation authorized a majority of the judges of the county court of Brown to establish the seat of justice at any point within six miles of the mouth of Fox river. In 1824, it was declared in the preamble to an act passed at the first session of the first legislative council of the territory of Michigan, that the judges of the Brown county court had neglected to comply with this authorization and that their failure to do this had caused "great and manifest inconvenience to the people of said county." The county is further advised that "the county commissioners of the county of Brown, or a majority of them, shall have power, and they are hereby required, on or before the first day of October next ensuing, to establish the seat of justice of said county of Brown at any point they may deem expedient within six miles of the mouth of Fox river."

This act was later amended to read that this matter should be decided by the county commissioners together with the justices of the county court and the territorial circuit judge. James D. Doty. Who the county commissioners were is not recorded, but Judge Doty and his colleagues proved equal to the occasion and promptly named Menomineeville as the county seat. The court sessions were held in "a house near Camp Smith, in the township of Green Bay, county of Brown," which was according to the statement of Mrs. Henry S. Baird, the old garrison schoolhouse.

The circuit judge and the justices continued to administer county affairs up to 1827, when for Michigan Territory at large the county commission system was abolished and townships were organized. This system of county government called for the election of a supervisor from each township, the whole to form a county board. In that same year, 1827, the first township organization west of Lake Michigan was adjusted. All that part of Brown county not held under Indian possession was organized into Green Bay township, the first meeting of the organization to be held at the house of John P. Arndt. In the county of Crawford by the same act of legislature, the township of St. Anthony was formed. These two townships included the village of Menomineeville in Brown county, and that of Prairie du Chien in Crawford county, still the only settled portions of western Michigan, and the only counties yet organized. The two townships were excepted from the existing law, as their population did not warrant the town system of government, and for them the county commission system continued in force.

Three supervisors were elected in each of these counties, who were expected to perform the duties of both town and county supervisors. Their official oversight in Brown covered a large territory, but the populated area was very

limited and extended only from Grand Kakalin, where at this time a saw mill and trading house had been erected, down Fox river to its mouth. The remainder was given up to densely wooded tracts, broken on the shores of streams by groups of Indian wigwams, and interspersed by stretches of cedar and tamarack swamp.

This system was virtually the original one of county commissioners, except that the office went by election instead of by appointment. No towns were organized in this part of the territory under this law and no record can be found of the election of the three supervisors. Judge Doty writes in a private letter that he trusts the supervisors are considering the building of a suitable court house, but does not mention names of the officials. His letters continue to be headed, Menomineeville, township of Green Bay; there seems however to have been no regularly incorporated town in the whole county of Brown. No important changes were made until 1835.

In that year by authority of the Michigan Legislative Council, William Dickenson, Charles Tullar and John P. Arndt organized the De Pere Hydraulic Company, and the following year, 1836, at the first session of the Wisconsin Territorial Council, John P. Arndt, the member from Brown, brought in a bill for its incorporation. The Hydraulic Company platted a 114 acre tract on the east side of the river, recording it as the "Plat of the Town of Depere." This was followed in 1836 by the plat of "Dickenson's Addition" and, in 1837, by "Irwin's First Addition."

On March 17, 1835, three townships were organized in Brown county. That of Green Bay comprised all the district of country north of private claim No. 2, and east of Fox river and Green Bay; or all that land lying north of Main street. The first township meeting was to be held at the schoolhouse in Navarino. The township of Mason (named after Stevens T. Mason, governor of Michigan at that date) included the area of land on the east side of Fox river, south of private claim No. 2, and the first township assembly was to meet in the court house at Menomineeville. The township of Howard extended from the Grand Kakalin, the other limits indefinite, on the west side of Fox river, and the initial meeting was to convene at the house of Jacques Porlier. (The Porlier-Tank cottage.)

Mason township existed for only one year when the township of Green Bay again absorbed Navarino, Astor and Shanty Town on the east side of the river and Howard the villages on the west side. In 1836 the territory of Wisconsin was organized and a general law of village incorporation was passed. Two years later towns were organized for judicial and police purposes and given some power in regard to roads.

In 1838, the territorial council established the "Town of Wilcox" (named after Randall Wilcox) which included what is now De Pere, on both sides of the river, but in March, 1839, the east side became part of the town of Depere, and the west side was again included in the town of Howard.

At the first session of the Wisconsin legislative council a determined effort was made to secure the seat of justice for Brown county for the new town of De Pere. John P. Arndt championed the bill and Henry S. Baird, the other member of the council from Brown county, opposed it.

The dispute over the county seat of Brown came up again at the second session



DE PERE HIGH SCHOOL
STREET SCENE IN DE PERE ABOUT
1866, SHOWING VILLAGE HOUSE,
KEPT BY W. P. CALL

FIRST TRAIN ON MILWAUKEE &
NORTHERN R. R., 1873, AND DE PERE
DEPOT

CHARCOAL KILNS, DE PERE, 1873



of the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature. By an act "to change the seat of justice in Brown county," approved in December, 1836, it was provided, that an election should be held on the third Monday of January, 1837, to decide whether Navarino, Astor or De Pere should be awarded that honor. Governor Dodge was to certify the returns and issue a proclamation declaring the result.

The election was held, and on the first day of February, proclamation was made by the governor, that, "the town of Depere has received a large majority of the votes, and the seat of justice of the said county of Brown is established at Depere, from and after the first day of April, 1837." The miniature cities of Navarino and Astor were deeply chagrined at the result of the election and at the following session of the legislature petition was made that the two be incorporated as separate and distinct towns. The manifest absurdity of this proposition in view of the meagre number of inhabitants prevented its success, and killed the bill. Later the petition was changed to read "the town of Green Bay" and this in turn was amended to "the borough of Green Bay," and was approved by the governor on January 17, 1838, Morgan L. Martin being elected president of the new borough. This act of incorporation did not include the west side of Fox river, which was known at the time and for more than fifty years to come as Fort Howard.

No suitable building had been erected in which to hold court at De Pere, so opportunity was taken while Fox river was frozen over to move thither on the ice from Menomoneeville, two and a half miles away, the log court house which for eleven years had served Brown county as a judicial centre. The growing importance of Wisconsin Territory demanded, however, within a year's time that Brown county have a larger and more appropriate building for its courts of justice and the De Pere court house was erected in 1838 at a cost of \$5,740. Matthew Washburn, contractor. The building was of frame, the upper story being used for a court room and the lower for the jail and living rooms for the keeper's family.

In 1840 a concession was made in favor of Green Bay by the passage of an act making it permissible for the May term of the county court to be held at Green Bay and the October term of the same court at De Pere provided that not more than \$100 should be spent in fitting up a suitable building at Green Bay, that all writs should be returnable to De Pere, the sheriff and clerk, however, being permitted to have offices at Green Bay. This curious see-saw action was terminated upon the incorporation of the city of Green Bay in 1854.

Wisconsin Territory when first established adopted the system of county commissioners, but those counties in the eastern portion, among them Brown, demanded a more democratic form of local government and in 1841, an act was passed to provide for the government of the several towns in the territory; also for a revision of county government.

The new law provided that the people of each county should decide by popular vote as to whether the county commission system should be continued and the question accordingly came up for ballot at the general election of November, 1841. The result showed that the town system was adopted and that each town was to elect a town board to administer its affairs. At the same time a supervisor was to be elected to represent the town on a county board.

As Brown county, in 1840, embraced only the three towns of Depere, Green

Bay and Howard and the meetings of the county board were to be held once a year, the three town boards up to 1848, did more toward managing general county business than the county board. The town board was an important body, exercising authority over a wide territory, but in Brown county only one town, that of Howard, has preserved its records complete from the first organization of the board seventy years ago.

There is no record kept of the Brown county board of supervisors up to the organization of Wisconsin as a state in 1848. At that date and up to 1852, the proceedings of that body are published annually and for several consecutive weeks in the one county newspaper, the Green Bay Advocate. The first meeting was held in January, 1848, the board consisting at that time of five members: Randall Wilcox, chairman; Samuel Ryan, senior, Robert D. Stewart, Thomas Green and Alexander Grignon. The county officers were: J. F. Lessey, sheriff; Harry F. Brown, treasurer; J. V. Suydam, clerk; Burley Follett, register; Edward Outhwaite, clerk of the court; William H. G. Boyd, coroner; David Agry, district attorney; Albert G. Ellis, district surveyor.

Upon the admission of Wisconsin to the Union in 1848, a new town was set off from Howard and named Lawrence in honor of Amos A. Lawrence, founder of the university at Appleton, and in 1852 the town of Pittsfield was organized. Randall Wilcox of De Pere, who was for several terms chairman of the Board of Supervisors, was a man highly respected and of sound judgment. He was moreover thoroughly interested in the growth and progress of his own town as well as the county in general, and was connected with most of the large moneyed enterprises of that day. He continued as the head of the county board until 1852, when Jonathan Wheelock of Lawrence, a sterling pioneer, was elected chairman. At the annual meeting in January, 1851, the members all being present except the chairman, Mr. Wilcox, D. W. Hubbard of Howard was given the chair pro tem. The clerk for that year was Earl S. Goodrich.

The first entry to be found in the "Journal of Proceedings of the Board of Supervisors of Brown County," is under date of April, 1852, Jonathan Wheelock of Lawrence, chairman. The other members present were Baron S. Doty, Green Bay; D. Jordan, Depere, and Hoel S. Wright, Wrightstown; the members from Howard and Lawrence not being present. This was the period when the Fox-Wisconsin Improvement, of which Green Bay and De Pere men were the incorporators, was the great interest of the whole Fox River valley. Therefore the Board of 1852, "Resolved:—that the faith of the county of Brown is hereby pledged to the punctual payment of 7 per cent of interest on any certificate of indebtedness hereafter to be issued to Morgan L. Martin and White, Riley and Arndt, contractors on Fox River, provided that the principal sum of said certificate of indebtedness to said Martin does not exceed the sum of \$45,000, and to the said White, Riley and Arndt the sum of \$6,000." On April 2, 1853, an act to authorize the counties of Brown and Outagamie to loan their credit was passed by the Wisconsin legislature, but no such pledge or guarantee could be given the county unless approved by the legal votes polled upon the subject in the several towns thereof.

Under date of February 15, 1853, a resolution of the county board is entered authorizing the county treasurer to bring suit against the former county clerk for the return of the books, papers and records, also the county moneys, all

of which he seems to have refused to deposit in De Pere, considering it safer to carry them back and forth when necessary between his home in Green Bay and the county seat. The feeling had become rather tense at this time between the two towns owing to rival claims as to a county centre of government. On November 23, 1853, William Field, junior, is allowed four dollars by the county board for moving the county clerk's records from Green Bay to De Pere, which proves that they were finally deposited in their rightful place.

In 1853, John P. Arndt was elected chairman with William Field clerk, the other members of the board being Hoel S. Wright, W. J. Gillman, Thomas Bennett and J. Baldwin of Pittsfield, that town having been set off during the year. At this session of the board, Otto Tank and Nathan Goodell filed a petition for a permit to establish a ferry between Fort Howard and Green Bay. This ferry proved a great institution and was continued under different managements until the building of the Walnut street bridge in 1862.

The amount of personal and real property in the several towns at this time was:

Real estate.....Green Bay	\$184,075	Personal.....	\$34,650
Real estate.....De Pere	117,857	Personal.....	1,950
Real estate.....Howard	33,908	Personal.....	5,900
Real estate.....Wrightstown	29,354	Personal.....	250
Real estate.....Lawrence	24,269		
Real estate.....Pittsfield	13,277		

By legislative enactment of February 27, 1854, Green Bay was incorporated as a city, and on April 4, of the same year, a popular vote transferred the county seat from De Pere to the former place. The contest caused much more excitement than was usually manifested at town elections, but everything, so it is reported, passed off very quietly, without any exhibition of ill feeling or angry rivalry. Jonathan Wheelock, of Lawrence, was again the chairman of the county board in 1854, but became disqualified through his removal from that town during the year and Andrew Reid was elected in his place, John P. Arndt being elected chairman.

With the removal of the county seat from De Pere, the question of a suitable court house and jail became a pressing subject of debate with the board of supervisors. The only building in Green Bay at all of reasonable size or adapted for the purpose was the Town Hall, even then an old building, which stood on the southeast corner of Adams and Doty streets. The building comprised one large room on the ground floor and four in the upper story. It was never considered by the Board of Supervisors as suitable or proper, but lacking anything better, was rented for the purpose.

On July 6, 1854, five hundred dollars was appropriated for the purchase of stone for a fireproof court house. A building committee was appointed to consist of John P. Arndt, Francis Desnoyers and Oscar Gray. In the interim of waiting the Board decided to rent for county offices and a place to store the records, two upper rooms in the newly completed building of Howe and Haynes, which stood on the southeast corner of Washington and Doty streets; in later years used for a small hotel, the Whittington House. This square two-storied house, built by James H. Howe and his partner in law, Silas Haynes,

was unusual in that day because of the material used, which was brick made directly on the ground, described at the time as "a very beautiful wall, little if any inferior to granite, and far handsomer than any brick with which we are acquainted. The machine and material can be taken directly on the ground where the building is to be erected." (G. B. Advocate.) The concrete blocks were about twelve by six inches in size and look as though they may have been made from the sandy loam on which the house was built. The front and sides of the building have been covered with modern brick, but at the rear can still be seen (in 1912) the original gray blocks.

The court house committee reported to Chairman Daniel W. King and the members of the board on January 25, 1855, that they had contracted with Nathan Goodell, Astor's real estate agent, for the purchase of lot 11, block 13, Astor, for \$500. This was the lot on Adams street adjoining lot 12, on the corner where stood the town hall. The resolution was then passed that the county board should erect a fireproof building, forty-four by twenty-four feet in depth, two stories in height, to accommodate four offices and on March 8, 1855, three months later, a committee of three, composed of John P. Arndt, Oscar Gray and F. E. White, were instructed to accept bids and close contracts for a building forty-eight by twenty-four feet.

The fort buildings were at this time regarded with favor by the County Board of Supervisors as a place for county meetings and also as a possible jail, but Major Shaler, the retired officer in charge, stated that he had no power to lease them for any purpose, and Judge Stephen R. Cotton gave his judicial opinion that the buildings were totally unfit for jail purposes because of their insecurity and also because of being on government land. The board acquiesced in Judge Cotton's opinion.

The court house building proposition hung fire for lack of funds, and no report was handed in by the building committee of work having been begun. On the fifteenth of November, 1855, the sheriff was authorized to remove the judge's bench, desk and the benches from the De Pere court house to the court house in Green Bay. Meantime the county building in De Pere was still used for jail purposes; the upper floor was also rented for the sum of one dollar for public gatherings of various sorts, religious services or business meetings relating to public affairs. The building was kept clean and neat by the keeper in charge, but was five miles from the seat of justice, and for this reason as the board reported, was an added expense.

John P. Arndt, one of the most useful of men in the practical management of county and city affairs, was again elected chairman in 1856, with Myron P. Lindsley as clerk and John Last, district attorney. Repairs were put on the old court house, a low picket fence was built around the building and a bridge across the slough. On March 27, 1856, Joel S. Fisk petitioned the county board to rent the upper rooms in the court house building for a select school for young ladies, the teacher, Mrs. Jeremiah Porter. This school was continued until January 1, 1857, when the rooms were rented to the city for a public school.

Judge David Agry of the county court appears to have held his judicial sessions in his own office, for which the county paid rent annually \$150. When Henry S. Baird completed in 1858 his stone building with iron shutters on the north side of Pine street between Washington and Adams, now used as

a storage warehouse, the county board decided at a meeting held on August 3, of that year, to rent Baird's new fireproof building for county offices, where the records might be kept in comparative safety. The rent to be paid \$540.

The attention of the county board during these years was largely devoted to providing a place for the county poor. Up to 1856, the several towns cared for their own poor and found it a heavy responsibility and expense, but on March 12, 1856, the Board of Supervisors decided to abolish this distinction and to make the poor a county charge. The United States government was petitioned to sell private claim 18, on the east side of Fox river, for a poor farm. This property was a part of Camp Smith, and was originally owned by Judge Jacques Porlier. On it stood the old Protestant Episcopal mission house, which the county board hoped to utilize temporarily, but at the November meeting of 1856 the commissioners for the poor reported that they had used their best endeavors to secure the property without success.

At the March meeting of 1857, the committee in charge of the county house brought before the board the following offers of land for this purpose: A site on Fox river, six miles above De Pere, offered by Daniel Whitney for \$10.00 per acre; James Boyd, a farm of 120 acres for \$6,000; Paul Fox, one of 129 acres, \$2,500; Dr. Israel Green's farm in Ashwaubenon, 140 acres, \$5,000, and H. S. Baird's farm of 120 acres for \$1,500.

Two months later on May 14, 1857, the county board decided on and ordered the purchase of the present poor farm site, 112 acres from David P. Saunders for \$1,600. The property was on the regularly travelled road to Bay Settlement,—the lower road which followed the line of the bay shore; the upper road was not opened until several years later. This county purchase proved an excellent investment. The land was good and well adapted to farming purposes and in the course of ten years was reported as being nearly self supporting from the fine crops raised there. A comfortable house was built, and the management from the beginning seems to have been almost uniformly satisfactory.

In 1860, Dorothea Dix of New York state, the famous philanthropist and the one above all others who improved the condition of prisons, poor houses and insane asylums throughout the United States, visited Green Bay and De Pere in her tour of inspection through Wisconsin. Her report on the Brown county institutions is most encouraging and commendatory of the poor commissioners. The neatly kept, although small buildings, the beautiful situation and well cultivated bit of farm land backed by its acres of still untouched forest impressed Miss Dix most favorably. In a letter to "Honorable John P. Arndt and Mayor Goodell" Miss Dix writes that her visits to the county jail in De Pere and to the poor house lately established beyond Green Bay were necessarily short. She found the jail clean and well ordered, unusually so for an old building, and humanity and kindness were shown by the warden, Mr. Cooley. Her impressions were also favorable in regard to the poor farm and the care bestowed by Mr. and Mrs. Wright on the inmates.

In July, 1857, Lorenzo Brown was elected chairman of the county board. The committee having the matter of the poor farm property in charge were, David Agry, John P. Arndt and William Field, junior. The members reported at this meeting that the property had been purchased from Saunders.

At the July meeting of 1857 the court house committee presented their plans for a new building, complaint being constantly made of the old town hall and jail and their inadequacy for the purpose being obviously manifest. It was to be a structure 45x90 feet on the ground floor, two stories high with four fireproof offices on the lower floor, and a court room 45x70 feet on the upper floor. The building was to be of brick or stone, with a belfry in the centre of the roof. At the November meeting of that year a resolution was adopted to issue \$30,000 bonds to build the court house and to begin its erection and that of a jail early in the spring.

The heirs in the Astor estate had released for the county court house the public square, known as Calhoun Square, in the plat of Astor and today known as St. John's Square.

At the November meeting of 1857, John P. Arndt, chairman of the court house committee, reported that it would not be expedient to erect both court house and jail at that time. The total valuation of the county in 1857 was \$1,228,830 but money was terribly scarce because of "hardtimes," and Judge Arndt, who had a generous sympathy toward the overburdened taxpayer, urged that the court house project be allowed to rest until there was more cash available, and recommended that "as prison the county has none," a jail be erected early in the following spring. Times were indeed bitter hard in the year 1857, and the financial depression in Wisconsin, in common with the whole country was only equalled by that of 1837. Banks all over the United States went to the wall, and the lumber interest which had become the great moneyed industry of Brown county received a heavy blow. It was very difficult to collect taxes; farmers for the most part were emigrants from the old country, who were hewing out their way from a dense wilderness. The taxes were exorbitant for the real value of the property and Green Bay the largest town in the county only extended in the fifties as far back as Madison street, and that was in the woods.

The government census for 1850, gives the entire population of Brown county as 6,215, and that of 1860 as 11,795. Roads and bridges were an urgent necessity with the increase of population, but the board with limited means found it impossible to make much practical headway in this direction. In 1858, the application of Harry E. Eastman, mayor of Green Bay, that the board give the city of Green Bay authority to bridge "East or Devil river" was approved by the supervisors. A petition to open Doty street to Devil river was received in August of that year, and at this same meeting in 1858, \$75 was allowed to Lawrence and Holland for bridges, \$30 for a bridge across Plum creek, \$100 to Borough of Fort Howard for completing bridge on Wolf river road; also on September 14, \$200 to the town of Bellevue to complete a bridge then in process of erection across Devil river.

The history of Brown county is difficult to follow at this time each year brought changes and the rapid increase in the population from foreign countries changed economic conditions. The county board increased in size each year members from newly organized towns taking their seats.

The road to Shawano was ordered opened in January 1858, and recommended as of great public benefit to the county and as opening up a fine section of country for settlement. In the meantime a large number of plank road companies had

been organized, that of Green Bay and New Franken in 1856 being among the first, with George S. Armstrong as incorporator.

It was agreed that the meetings of the supervisors should be conducted with more formality and in May, 1859, John P. Arndt, James H. Howe and James S. King were appointed a committee to draft rules of order and it was voted that the rules of procedure and order of business should be strictly adhered to.

The following year the board signed a petition to the state legislature asking that the onerous tax imposed on the county for state purposes be lightened, and that the owners of land in the county of Brown be relieved from an unequal and burdensome tax.

The war period meant busy times for the county board. The first railroad the Chicago and Northwestern went through, bridges were built and the court house project was definitely settled. Schools throughout the county were beginning to be established and it was voted that the county school superintendent be paid \$700 a year; also that supervisors, many of whom came from a distance, be given one dollar a day extra. The first district school house in De Pere was ordered built in August 1857, at a cost of not more than \$1,000.

There was some opposition to the railroad and complaint that it was pushed through in the interests of the mill men, but on May 19, 1862, the county board to aid in the enterprise, resolved, that, "in conformity with the provisions of the act of the legislature of 16th of March, 1860, and act of April 10th, 1861, and in accordance with the vote of the legal voters of the County of Brown under the said law, there be issued bonds of said county to the amount of \$49,500. * * * The sale of stock to be negotiated through the Bank of Green Bay."

On February 24, 1864, the question of the unfitness of the town hall for court house purposes was again discussed, and two months later it was resolved, John Last, chairman, that the lots 87, 88 and 89, offered by W. D. Collburn be purchased for \$2,800. Later in the same year a contract was entered into by members of the board with J. B. Van De Mosselaer and H. J. Busch, acting as a committee from the Holland Catholic congregation for the sale of the court house building to that congregation for \$475 and the lot for \$1,200. On November 16, 1864 the property was handed over to the Holland congregation.

On April 15, 1865, the County Board of Supervisors met pursuant to agreement, John Last, chairman presiding and members all present. Mr. Aldrich offered the following resolution which was adopted. Resolved, That the members of this board have heard with the most unfeigned regret and sorrow the startling news of the sudden death of His Excellency, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and of the Honorable William H. Seward, Secretary of State, who have fallen under the ruthless weapon of the assassin, Resolved, That out of respect to the memory of the illustrious deceased, the board do now adjourn—to meet two weeks from this day, Saturday the 29th inst. Signed, M. P. Lindsley, clerk.

In the fall of 1865, the soldiers were crowding home from the war just ended, and in November the county board in discussing the much vexed subject of taxation decided "that all those persons possessed of property * * still are and will in all probability for many years to come be liable to have their means

curtailed by the large amount of taxes direct and indirect which they have to pay to government in consequence of the expenditure incurred by the latter in carrying on the terrible conflict in which we have lately been engaged. Yet that expenditure has been of vast benefit to the lower classes through the immense bonus and high rate of wages paid to the soldiers and others employed about the army during the war."

Prosperity shone over Brown county. Money was made rapidly and easily, the lumber industry was booming and Green Bay said to be manufacturing more shingles than any other part of the world. The fish business too was a lucrative pursuit and the new railroad was carrying to Chicago carloads of the finest fish to be found in market, sturgeon, muskellunge and white fish. There were no refrigerator cars in those days but the fish were thrown into open cars, and covered with ice and reached the Chicago market in prime condition.

The new court house was finished in 1866, Kemnitz Brothers the contractors. It was a square substantial building the lower part stone, the upper stories of brick crowned by a cupola, the court room was on the upper floor, the county offices on the second story, the jail and keeper's house in the basement. It was considered well built and altogether a credit to the county, and was used until the handsome and modern court house completed in 1911, was ready for occupancy.

(References for Chapter XVI: Proceedings of the Board of Supervisors: Hist. of Northern Wisconsin; Strong, Territorial Wisconsin; Journal of Legislative Council; Maes, Souvenir Blue Book of De Pere; Ms. Notes on De Pere from Wis. Hist. Soc.; Green Bay Advocate.)

CHAPTER XVII

THE FOX RIVER IMPROVEMENT COMPANY

By far the most important subject occupying the attention of Brown county and its several towns during the two decades' following the year 1840, was transportation and the opening up of roads throughout Wisconsin.

The waterways that form an important feature in the settlement and growth of any country are of special interest in the history of Brown and neighboring counties, for through them ran the historic Fox-Wisconsin highway that from 1634 onward was traversed by a procession of picturesque and awesome figures. The Indians with blackened faces and spears hung with the scalps of their victims stealing up the river's vine-hung course in their birch canoes, intent on surprising some other tribesman's camp; the keen, decisive faces of Perrot and Dulhut, who knew that they stood daily in danger of treachery and sudden death; the black robed fathers of the Jesuit mission making pastoral visits, their canoes propelled by an Indian or a Canadian *donné*,—all, as we study the history of this area of country now called Brown county seem connected primarily with its water highways of bay and river.

Following the period when Indians or singing voyageurs carried various forms of water craft across the rapids of Fox River came the strenuous attempt of early pioneers to make this stream the accepted route of communication between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, and the "Fox-Wisconsin River Improvement" the confident hope of this entire section of country was inaugurated. The story of this ambitious venture, its vicissitudes and triumphs occupy many pages of our local newspapers up to the year 1860, and the reports of congressional committees and the legislative bodies of Michigan and Wisconsin in regard to it would alone fill a volume.

The first movement made by the inhabitants of Brown county toward the furtherance of this project was in the year 1829 when "An act to incorporate the President, Directors and Company of the Summit Portage Canal and Road Company" was introduced before the legislative council of Michigan Territory, and was approved by that body on October twenty-third of the same year. The bill recites that the company is formed "for the purpose of cutting a canal to connect the Fox and Onisconsin rivers at what is usually termed the Portage of the Onisconsin * * * and for the erection of piers, wharves, warehouses and other necessary improvements in and about said canal and road.

"That the stock of said company shall consist of one thousand shares of ten dollars each and that John P. Arndt, Morgan L. Martin, John Lawe, Lewis Rouse, Henry S. Baird and Joseph Watson shall be and they are hereby appointed commissioners to receive subscriptions for said stock." Provision was further made for a turnpike road to be built running parallel with the canal.

Following the approval of the Michigan legislature a convention was called in Menomineeville to discuss the best method of carrying on the projected improvement. Railroads at that time were a scarce luxury even in the eastern states, the only line in use being that between New York and Washington which included in its meanderings the city of Philadelphia. It was not to be imagined that this mode of travel would reach the Green Bay region for many years to come, but a cut through the portage which was little over a mile in extent and formed the only barrier separating Fox river from the Wisconsin would give free communication from all lake ports through to the Mississippi and New Orleans.

Morgan L. Martin as the delegate from Brown county to the Michigan council in 1831 actively pushed the enterprise, and so vigorous was the effort to obtain an appropriation wherewith to inaugurate the work that Governor Dodge in his first message to the Wisconsin territorial legislature in 1836, recommended that a memorial be sent to Congress asking for means to carry on the survey and improvement of the Fox river from its mouth to Fort Winnebago. In 1838 the governor also recommended that the legislature memorialize Congress for a grant of land to aid in the improvement of both the Fox and Wisconsin rivers.

In 1839 the first movement by the general government toward the improvement of the Fox-Wisconsin river highway was made. Captain Thomas J. Cram of the topographical engineers under direction of the war department made a preliminary survey of the rivers and an estimate of the cost of their improvement.

The project continued to be steadily pushed by practical promoters and in 1845 the measure petitioning Congress for a grant of land for its accomplishment was again introduced. In September of the same year Morgan L. Martin was elected as member of Congress from the Brown county district and immediately threw all his influence and enthusiastic championship of the proposed measure toward the successful furtherance of the work. He secured the passage of an act, approved August 8, 1846, making a grant of land to the state upon its admission into the union for the improvement of the Fox river alone, and the building of a canal across the portage between the two rivers. The grant covered every odd-numbered section within three miles of the canal, the river and the lakes, en route from the portage to the mouth.

The second issue of the Green Bay Advocate, August 20, 1846, hails this auspicious event in mighty headlines of black type, "Passage of the Appropriation Bill for the Improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers" and predicts a new era for Green Bay and the country thereabouts. "All praise is due to our delegate, the Hon. M. L. Martin, for his unremitted exertions in effecting this measure."

Green Bay, ever given over to many merrymakings, immediately called a meeting of its citizens at the town hall to decide on an appropriate reception for their congressional member which was enthusiastically attended; and a banquet, ball, and supper were promptly arranged, all which events took place in due order. "The dinner at the Navarino House was well attended, and the way the good things were piled on to the board, and vanished before the guests did honor to the excellent catering of the host, Mr. DeQuindre. * * * Many excellent toasts were given. * * * In the evening the ball at the Astor House drew the dancers together, and the way matters went off there was evidence

enough of the excellence of Mr. Green's way of doing things. The music was excellent: the managers acquitted themselves well, and the whole party wore glad faces as they wound through the mazy dance, and

"smiles
Played meteor like on beauty's cheek,
As if contagiously; and sparkling lamps
Poured forth a deluge of lustre o'er the crowd,
While music, like a siren, weaned the heart
From every grovelling and contentious thought,
From every care."

The supper won a thousand compliments for the worthy host, and he never was more "at home" than on the present occasion. * * * The small hours came and found the music and assembly still there and not idle—and we are not sure but that many had the morning sun to lighten the way home."

When the second constitutional convention was held, this proposition on the part of Congress was endorsed, and at the first session of the state legislature the latter body passed an act, approved August 8, 1848, appointing a board of public works, consisting of five persons, and providing for the improvement of the river. The members of the board were elected in joint session of the legislature the same day as follows: Hercules L. Dousman, Curtis Reed, John A. Bingham, Albert S. Story and James B. Estes. (W. H. S. Colls. V. II.)

For a couple of years the prospect for a speedy completion of the contemplated work seemed bright. A steam dredge was constructed and put to work on the upper Fox. Contracts were let for the canal and locks at Portage, and for the improvement at Rapid Croche. At De Pere it was found that Joshua F. Cox was so anxious that the work should be done on the east side of the river that he was willing to undertake it for one dollar; while Curtis Reed was to pay five thousand dollars for the privilege of building the northern channel at Winnebago Rapids. Sales of land had in 1849 amounted to \$49,500 and in 1850 to \$53,161.

But the next year told a different story. The land sales seemed to have reached their limit and as this was the only source of revenue from which the board could meet its expenses the work at Grand Chute and Cedar Rapids had to stop for lack of funds. With liabilities of \$75,000 and only \$8,000 in the treasury affairs may well be termed in bad shape.

While matters were in this condition Morgan L. Martin made a proposition to the Wisconsin legislature through its Governor Nelson Dewey to do the work from Green Bay to Lake Winnebago excepting that which the board of public works had finished or was already under contract for. The board had dug the canal at Portage before there was any steam navigation possible on the lower Fox.

Martin's proposition was in effect that the state should not be held liable for expenses attending the completion of the improvement, but that the tolls and the sale of lands should supply the means to reimburse him. The governor in his message to the senate said: "It is believed that the proposition of Mr. Martin is a very favorable one for the state, and if accepted will ensure the final com-

pletion of this important work at a much earlier day than the state can possibly accomplish it, in any other constitutional manner. * * * The early completion of this improvement will be promoted by its acceptance and would be economical."

The legislature of 1851 accepted Martin's proposition and he went to work with about five hundred men commencing at Kaukauna. Operations were carried on throughout that season, along the entire distance from Green Bay to Lake Winnebago.

The contract read: I propose to complete the whole work on or before the first day of May, 1853, the same to be accepted as fast as completed. The work to be paid for from the sales of land granted (and to be granted) in aid of the improvement, so far as the funds can be raised from that source. The amount due for the whole contract when completed, and remaining unpaid, to constitute a debt against the improvement, the interest of which at twelve per cent, shall be paid from tolls to be collected on the work, and whenever the state shall realize funds, either from sale of lands or any other source, and pay the balance due on the contract, debt to be discharged.

Governor Farwell came into office on the 5th of January, 1852. On the 16th in his message to the legislature, the governor reported that \$26,000 had been paid for the season's work, in state scrip, and intimated that Martin's contract was unconstitutional. He afterwards refused to give Martin any of the scrip that had been lawfully earned, and the incorporator was obliged to secure the passage by the legislature of an act authorizing the secretary of state to give certificates of indebtedness, instead of the governor. This was vetoed April 9, 1852, Governor Farwell laying great stress on the claim that the bill was in violation of the spirit of both the act of Congress making the land grant and the constitution of the United States.

Public indignation ran high over the governor's action which practically meant ruin to the work and its incorporators. Attorney General Experience Estabrook however gave it as his opinion that the scrip issued to Martin was constitutional, and a joint committee of the legislature reported unanimously that the work had been conducted well and honorably. The legislature, therefore, passed the bill over the governor's veto, and Martin resumed work. The trouble with the governor, however, had greatly shortened the season, and it was not until July 14th that Farwell consented to have certificates issued under the act, and work could be recommenced.

At the legislative session of 1853, the governor proposed, in a message dated February 9th, to "submit the works to private enterprise" and have the skirts of the state cleared from all financial responsibility. It was urged by Farwell that the moneys realized from the sale of lands were insufficient to meet the state's obligations; a company was therefore formed styled the Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company, of which Morgan L. Martin, Mason C. Darling, Otto Tank, Edgar Conklin, Benjamin F. Mooers, Joseph G. Lawton, Uriah H. Peak, Theodore Conkey and others were members. The articles of association were dated the 1st of June, 1853. This company was incorporated by the state under act approved July 6th, and to it was transferred the entire work, under condition that it fulfil the obligations of the state to all classes of contractors on the improvement.



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In April of the same year it was resolved by the board of supervisors of the county of Brown, "that the faith of the county of Brown is hereby pledged to the punctual payment of seven per cent of interest on any certificates of indebtedness hereafter to be issued to Morgan L. Martin and White, Riley and Arndt, contractors in the Fox River Improvement Company, provided that the principal sum of said certificate of indebtedness to said Martin does not exceed the sum of \$40,000 and to the said White, Riley and Arndt the sum of \$6,000. No such pledge or guarantee shall be placed upon said county unless approved by the legal votes to be polled upon the subject at an election for this purpose to be held pursuant to the provisions of an act passed the 14th of May, 1853, in the several towns thereof."

Meanwhile the great advantage accruing to the lower Fox river had become apparent in the utilization through the "improvement" of the river's tremendous water power. By the year 1856 the southern line of the bridge at De Pere had a succession of saw mills in busy operation. The prediction made by Brown county citizens in their satisfaction over the land grant made by Congress, had been more than fulfilled. "The emigrant has said of the Fox river valley that there are no mills or at least very few. * * * When the work of improving the navigation commences dams will be thrown across at the different rapids, for the purpose of making slack water, and thus half the expense of erecting mills is done away with" wrote a prospective millwright in September, 1846.

The heart and soul of the people were bound up in the successful completion of this work which meant much in a commercial way to this whole section of country, but sectional and official jealousies were ever hatching new troubles and the delay and litigation incident on the continual wrangle at Madison hampered the work. Charles D. Robinson, secretary of state, in 1852 wrote editorially in the pages of the Advocate. "From a paragraph in a Madison journal we infer that an attempt is on foot at the capital to see what can be done in the way of frustrating the whole plan of the enterprise (The Fox-Wisconsin Improvement)—to kill it.

"We say to all, construct your railroads, build your plank highways, dig out your water courses when you can profitably do so, create your harbors, and you shall hear from us nothing but words of encouragement and congratulation on your good fortune and fair prospects—only show a little of the same spirit of liberality and neighborly good will toward us when we are striving to do a little something for ourselves."

Notwithstanding these drawbacks the improvement company went bravely on with the work, and the following notice was published:

"September 26, 1855.—In compliance with a resolution passed by the Board of Directors of the Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company, I hereby give public notice that the water will be let into their canals between Lake Winnebago and Green Bay and after the 1st of October next, and that passage for boats may be expected within a fortnight thereafter.

"Until the lock and dam at Little Kaukauna are completed, or until the present low stage of water is raised it is not advisable to pass boats with more than three feet draught of water. The old locks at De Pere and the Croche also will

not readily admit boats of greater dimensions than 130 feet in length by 30 in width.

C. D. WESTBROOK, JR.
Chief Engineer."

In June, 1856, the first boat, the *Aquila*, passed through the works—coming from Pittsburgh down the Ohio to its mouth, then up the Mississippi to the Wisconsin river and thence to Green Bay. The *Green Bay Advocate* of June 19, 1856, devotes three columns to the glorification of this great enterprise:

FOX RIVER IMPROVEMENT COMPLETED:

The First Steamer From the Mississippi River

When news was received that the *Aquila* was really on her way a meeting was called, Mayor Harry E. Eastman in the chair and Hon. Frank Desnoyers acting as secretary. "A committee of five consisting of James H. Howe, Judge Arndt, Hon. John Day, Colonel Charles Tullar and Edward Hicks was then appointed by the chair to superintend the arrangements for the reception of the *Aquila*. A special committee consisting of Edgar Conklin, J. C. Brown and Mayor Eastman was also appointed to meet the band at De Pere."

At De Pere

* * * Its denizens were up and dressed and many of them had gone forth to meet the bridegroom. Their house tops and hill tops and mill tops were decorated in the most enthusiastic manner. In the absence of any big guns the boys had loaded up the furniture of two blacksmith shops and when at four and a half o'clock the boat hove around the point half a mile above the dam there was such a thundering of blacksmiths' tools as if Vulcan had employed Jupiter to do a special job. * * * There was but one throat in De Pere and it was hoarse with loud and long repeated exultation. The music of many waters roared with new vigor. The shrill steam pipes shrieked with increased delight. The dozen saw mills seemed to see plainly as saw mills ever saw that the long expected contingency had arrived, that the good time had come, in short that "the logs had come down" and all that saw mills cared a pinch of saw dust about on this earth was aboard. The spoke factories spoke sixty times a minute.

"Now let the lazy world wag on,
We'll have an easy ride."

After discharging cords of freight the *Eagle* darted through the lock like a shuttle, and "the child was born" and was cradled on the bosom of our own beautiful "La Baie Verte."

The boat was in command of Captain Steve Hotaling, son of the late Captain Peter Hotaling, who in 1841 brought the first river steamboat (the *Black Hawk*) from Lake Erie to Fox river and made an unsuccessful attempt to take her over the rapids to Lake Winnebago.

A mile this side of De Pere, off Point Chapman, the *Aquila* was met by the steam tug *Ajax*. The splendid brass band of Menasha, a magnificent troupe (God bless their souls) from the hurricane of the *Aquila* struck up "See the Conquering *Ajax* Comes." Every where along shore were the wildest demon-

strations of delight. The grounds of Hon. M. L. Martin, the father and architect of this great work, were hung with banners, flags and appropriate symbols, giving them the appearance of a hard day's washing.

That glorious old veteran, Major Shaler, keeper of Fort Howard, had gone home to an early dinner, which he forgot to eat—to feed other wide open mouths of metal and brass, who too would rather speak than eat on such an occasion, and as the Aquila rounded to, opposite Fort Howard, they did utter a language intelligible to all the nations under the sun. The shores and docks and warehouses and lumber piles and stranger steamboats and sail craft and all the aisles and avenues leading to the water side were filled and covered and crowded with a living mass of crazy humanity.

The company and officers of the Aquila landed at the dock of Messrs. Hayward, Goodell and Whitney, where they were received by the Germania Fire Company, the Turner Society and citizens forming a procession, at the head of which was that prince of marshals, Nathan Goodell, Esq., the mayors, H. E. Eastman of Green Bay and General Turner of Menasha, the foreman of the fire company, H. Reber, Chief Engineer F. Lathrop and the leaders of the Turner Society, B. Bosenfeld and H. Althof.

A stage had been erected outside of the United States hotel, and here the speaker of the day, James H. Howe, gave his welcoming and congratulatory address, which ended with these words, "Above all and beyond all this, the Fox river valley shall be the nursery and the home of free men, and side by side dotting all its rich landscape shall be those two agencies of civilization, the school-house and the church of God." Following addresses by Judge Cotton and others the company adjourned to the steamer Sultana, Captain Appleby in command, where was held a dance and a banquet.

By act of Congress, approved August 3, 1854 (construed by resolution of March 3, 1855), the Improvement Company had obtained an increase in the grant of land made by government to aid in the completion of the work, for the work was broadening out as years went on and the depth of water sought was greater than at first. The state had not received the entire amount of land contemplated in the original act, as many of the alternate sections covered by the grant had been previously disposed of by the government. The act of 1854 authorized the selection from any public lands in the state then subject to entry at \$1.25 an acre, enough to make good this deficiency.

Under the act of incorporation this increase in the land grant was of course claimed by the Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company, but the state also set up a claim on the ground that only the lands originally granted should be conferred on the company. In a controversy of this sort the state naturally had the upper hand and in 1856 the company was required to reconstruct a portion of the improvement, and the improvement itself, as well as the lands, then unsold, was placed in the hands of trustees, who were to pay the indebtedness which the state had already incurred, and after that the bonds of the company.

The legislature under chapter 64, general laws of 1855, authorized the Improvement Company to increase its capital stock to \$250,000, and that same year its incorporators were compelled to seek outside capital to swing the enterprise. Assistance from New York was solicited, and prominent capitalists, including

Horatio Seymour, Erastus Corning, and Hiram Barney, gave their support to the work. This aid however proved too much for the Fox river valley financiers. The New York men deranged the company's plans, and affairs were soon in such a condition that the trustees were forced to sell the improvement and the remaining lands which passed into the hands of the New York capitalists.

The sum received from the sale was sufficient to pay the expense which had been incurred in the execution of the trust, the indebtedness which was then outstanding against the state, and to leave an amount equal to the estimated cost of the remainder of the improvement. The state thus retired from the field without financial loss, but with a stain on its honorable record that is made more apparent each year as the completed story of the Fox-Wisconsin River Improvement is rehearsed. Not only did the principal incorporators of the enterprise from Brown county suffer financial ruin from the state's repudiation of its just debt, but the whole Fox river valley was involved and crippled by the refusal of aid by the state and its attempt rather to hinder and handicap in every way possible the success of this important work.

The New York company which had purchased at the sale organized as the Green Bay and Mississippi Canal Company but the work did not long remain in their hands. The interposition of Congress was secured and an appraisal ordered of the improvement, water power and lands of the company. The board appointed for this purpose found that there had been expended on the work in the twenty-five years since the land grant had been made, over two million dollars. The value of the property of the company was fixed at \$1,048,070, and the law directed that there be deducted from that the amount raised from the sale of lands, or \$723,000, leaving \$325,000 to be paid the company. But it was further provided that the secretary of war might elect to purchase the whole property, or either the water power, the improvement or the personal property. The secretary decided that only the improvement should be bought and for this \$145,000, the sum fixed by the appraisers was appropriated by Congress.

The Fox-Wisconsin Improvement thus passed into the hands of the federal government, and since that time has been treated as any other piece of river improvement. Under government superintendence the old wooden locks were replaced by substantial ones of stone and concrete. Very considerable sums have been appropriated for the work, the greater part of which seem to have gone for damages to the property holders along the river. Work on the Fox river, particularly the part below Lake Winnebago, still continues and the great water power has been developed.

Six hundred and eighty-four thousand, two hundred and eighty-nine acres of land, nearly two million dollars of private capital and much more in public money has been expended on the two rivers, but for navigable purposes only that portion from Green Bay to Oshkosh has proved of any great value. A regular line of boats has for years plied between these two cities, connecting at Oshkosh with boats to Berlin and up the Wolf river. The immense results anticipated by its first incorporators were never realized but in interest the story of the Fox-Wisconsin River Improvement and its heroic fight against odds, holds prominent place in Wisconsin history.

(References for Chapter XVII: Sanborn, *Story of the Fox-Wisconsin Rivers' Improvement*, Proc. 1899; *Green Bay Advocate*, 1846-56; *Ms. Papers of M. L. Martin*; *Legislative Council of Mich. Ter. 1829*; *Wis. Hist. Colls. Vol. 11.*)

CHAPTER XVIII

LUMBERING IN BROWN COUNTY

It is a saying that America presented a timbered front to every settler who approached her shores; her glorious forests stretching for thousands of miles with little break in their even expanse were at once the despair and the salvation of the early emigrant of Brown county. The country was heavily timbered to the water's edge with beech, maple, oak, pine, ash, elm, birch and basswood, and through this forest land the settler must hew his way in order to carve out a home. The French colonists never attempted to penetrate the interior, building their comfortable cabins close to the edge of river or bay, clearing only so much land as would give them a fair expanse of garden soil.

Among the most interesting records of early days in the register's office at Green Bay are the Indian deeds ceding lands for milling sites along Fox river and the bay. We find one executed by the Menominee nation in favor of Jacob Franks in 1794, and which probably included his mill site at DePere. In the census of 1820, Michigan which included Brown county had 491 sawmills. By 1850 Wisconsin was in the field with 278 mills. Capital of \$1,006,892. In 1870 Michigan had come to the front in value of products with a valuation of \$32,000,000. In order came Pennsylvania, New York, and fourth Wisconsin. In 1880 she took third place, New York having dropped fourth in rank, and in 1890, Wisconsin had jumped forward to second place in valuation of products, Michigan still in lead with \$83,133,000, while Wisconsin stood at \$60,960,444. In 1900 Wisconsin led with 1,066 sawmills.

By 1825 sawmill "sites" were in great demand along Brown county's winding streams. John P. Arndt in August, 1826, leased a mill site on the west side of Green bay, and the deed which transfers the property from the Indian owners is an especially fine example of dignified language. "Whereas our Great Father, the President of the United States has for the benefit of his red children of the Menominie Nation directed that a grist and sawmill be erected in our neighborhood and has given permission to John P. Arndt to do the same. . . Know all men by these presents that we Oaskash alias 'the Claw' Oh-ke-me-neshaw alias 'Great Wave' Sthai-ki-tok alias 'Scare all' chiefs of the Menominie Nation of Indians residing in the vicinity of Green Bay," etc. The conditions were, "that the said John P. Arndt his heirs and assigns shall yield immediate and quiet possession of said mills with all their privileges to the United States government when it may be required; and that he will also saw any timber which may be required for the public service upon reasonable terms. 2d, That the said John P. Arndt, his heirs and assigns shall commit no unnecessary waste of timber. 3d, That the said John P. Arndt shall furnish the Menominie

Nation with all the lumber they may want for their own proper use, and grind any grain they may want at the said mills gratis. 4th, That the said John P. Arndt * * * shall pay annually to the Menominee Nation on the first day of June the sum of fifteen dollars."

In 1831 Samuel Stambaugh in a report on the quality and condition of Wisconsin territory speaks of the many fine mill sites. Already the lumber industry marked a second epoch in the commercial life of our county. The fur trade was rapidly dying out, settlers were too few to make agriculture a general and profitable business, but the great forests of pine that stretched in apparently boundless extent towards all points of the compass opened up a field of unlimited opportunity and sure results.

Judge Arndt seems to have been one of the most enterprising of these mill men of the thirties. In 1836 he built a sawmill on Duck creek, in addition to the one erected by him in 1827 on the bay shore.

One of the most interesting industries of this day was the pioneer furniture factory of Wisconsin, started at Green Bay, in 1836, by Emmons W. Follett. The building in which this factory operated is still standing on the corner of Walnut and Washington streets and is known as the Bay City House. Follett went out into the forests, felled the trees, sawed the timber, hauled and seasoned it, and then made the entire machinery used in the making of the furniture. No iron was used in the construction of the machinery. The motive power was supplied by a horse, yet Follett's furniture was well made and his business increased to such an extent that he was obliged to fit up larger quarters for his work.

In 1850 we read that, "Our magnificent and boundless forests of pine are alive with hardy industrious men engaged in getting out vast quantities of timber, and yet there is an urgent call for more laborers at higher wages than was ever before offered. New sawmills and shingle factories are springing up all around us, yet there is difficulty in filling orders as fast as received. One of our extensive shingle manufacturers, I. Ingalls informs us, that he got the highest price for the very heavy lot he shipped from here to Chicago by the last trip of the 'Michigan' than has been found any previous season."

The Ellis mills and farm in the town of Preble, the property of A. G. Ellis, first surveyor general of Wisconsin, were on Hell creek, which became Hill creek when the newspapers wished to be respectful and polite. There were on this pretty stream a saw and grist mill, a machine shop, two dwelling houses, a barn and a blacksmith's shop, all built by General Ellis and his home was there for many years. It was so far out in the woods that bears roamed in the vicinity of the house, and the pine cut grew directly around the mill. This was the case with all these early mills. One old lumberman says: "we built our mill anywhere in the woods where there was a good stream, and cut the timber all about us. It usually kept us busy for a good many years then we began to buy up lands a little farther off." Gerhart Bong, when he came to Green Bay from Germany in 1859, then a boy of eighteen, went to work in one of these forest mills and helped to build it out in the woods. It was the only industry at that time that employed any large number of men.

In 1850 the government census shows that the amount of capital invested in Wisconsin mills was \$1,006,892, value of products \$58,611,978. In 1854,

the Green Bay Advocate reports that "the all absorbing business of lumbering has begun for the season."

There were at that time in Brown county thirty-five out of the 278 saw-mills throughout the length and breadth of Wisconsin, or an eighth of the entire number in the state. Of these four were in Green Bay, the remainder located on rivers entering the bay on the west side. Duck creek, Big and Little Suamico, Pensaukee, Peshtigo, the Oconto, all had one or two mills at this time, and as Oconto county was not set off from Brown until 1857, all this industry belonged to Brown county. Cowles mill at Wequiock, Anton Klaus at New Franken, were all doing prosperous trade during the fifties.

Rough but solidly built structures were the mills that sprang up in the clearings and along the streams of Brown county. Millions of shingles, staves and lath were manufactured by the hands of the early settlers, their wives and children throughout this section of heavily timbered country. A county school superintendent during the seventies tells of how as he drove through the county he found the good sized living room in every house furnished with a bench along either wall, and here all day long sat the owner's wife and children, making and packing the everlasting shingle; their tools, a reever and draw knife. One of the very earliest settlers in the town of Howard was a shingle maker, John Marston by name, who emigrated to the place in 1830, supporting himself by fishing and making shingles. His name was later preserved in the creek on whose shores he lived and worked.

During the decade from 1850 to 1860, we generally regard Brown county as commercially at stagnation, but in reality it was engaged in one of the largest and most lucrative industries that has flourished in this section along any line before or since. The press alone gives one an insight into the large business transacted and that occupied a majority of the population. Every one knew that there was money in lumber, and that the lumbermen, especially at certain seasons of the year had plenty of ready cash. "When the logs come down," was a regular saying in those days for lavish expenditure in the towns.

During the month of May, the newspapers always devoted certain columns to "the drives," for then the "logs were coming down," and everything was humming. Litigation among the rival firms at this season of year was frequent, and suits involving thousands of dollars brought money and practice into law offices and courts. There was a picturesque side to the work too. The gay voyageur in his gaudy toggery who canoed the streams of Wisconsin in fur trading days and captured the imagination of the chronicler for all time by his Canadian boat songs and free, devil may care ways had now disappeared, and in his place strode in almost as captivating a figure that of the lad of the woods, of the axe and pineries, dressed in buckskin or corduroy with shoe packs and gay worsted socks, toque of striped flannel and bright sash of wool about the waist. In the fall the streets of Green Bay were alive with a busy throng and from all over the county came men and youths eager to be enlisted in the ranks of hardy woodsmen.

This is how Green Bay appeared in 1854: "The many mills in this vicinity make it a rendezvous for owners of mills and the large number of men engaged by them for the pineries. Men, oxen, horses and provisions are here supplied. You may talk to me about the carnival at Rome, and wild horses

dashing along the Corso; a mere nothing to this babel of sights and sounds. There will be sawed by these mills, water and stream, the present year 80,000,000 feet of pine lumber. At this time there are 1,500 men, 300 yoke of cattle and 100 span of horses getting out logs for these different establishments.

"The United States Hotel of this place is the great headquarters of this annual army of lumbermen, going and coming during the close of navigation. Colonel George Farnsworth is the accomplished and gentlemanly landlord. Can speak English, French and Indian fluently and is withal a first rate gentlemanly fellow."

A large proportion of the mill hands at this time were French Canadians, who adored the life in the pineries, its excitement, good pay and good fare of pork, beans and coffee. As time passed and other nationalities crowded into the west, these Johnny Crapeaus were replaced by Germans, Irish and others, but there was always one of the French guild on hand with a fiddle to make the winter evenings gay in camp. Music and song were a part of the life of these gay fellows, who made the forest resound with their lusty voices.

B. F. Smith of DePere thus tells of the trade of those days: "The writer located at DePere in the autumn of 1851, and found employment at once in the lumber business. Previous to that date there had been only a few small mills to supply the local demand, viz.: Mr. Ingalls' shingle mill at Green Bay, the mill at Hill creek, one at Duck creek, one at Apple creek, and one on Plum creek at Wrightstown; all of these supplied only local trade. There were the remains of two old mills at the DePere dam and one owned by Randall Wilcox. This last was running and doing some shipping to outside markets at that time and later materially increased its business in that line.

"Up to 1851, all these mills used the old style sash saw, and undershot (or flutter) water wheel, later, however, the Wilcox mill put in a muley saw rig, and later still, circular saws. During the years 1850 and '51, a firm styled Ritchie, Reid & Ritchie, built a steam mill at the west end of the bridge at DePere and made lumber upon a much larger scale, shipping to outside markets. Finding their supply of timber chiefly along, or not far from the banks of the East river, they continued to run until they had exhausted the supply of timber tributary to that stream, then the Ritchies moved to Ashland, Wisconsin, and Mr. Reid converted the sawmill into a sash, door and blind factory.

"After the timber along the stream was gone, smaller circular sawmills were built back from the stream among the timber, from five to ten miles out from the cities. These continued to make lumber, shingles and staves until the country was cleared of all lumber suitable for either, which occurred about the year 1875. While the removal of all this valuable timber was going on it created great activity in business, at the same time the average profit upon the manufactured stock was so small after all expenses were deducted, that the community seemed but little better off than before. What was left of the timber was refuse and would cost to remove at least \$20 per acre.

"M. E. Tremble and Chase and Dickey had mills in the town of Suamico at Flintville or near Big Suamico river, that ran after the timber was gone at DePere and the city of Green Bay, but in all sections of the country the residue was a heavy incumbrance instead of an asset, viewed from an agricultural standpoint until the iron furnaces were put in operation at DePere and Green

Bay. These called for so much charcoal to smelt the iron ore that all the wood in the county was soon marketed at profitable prices and the county rapidly became an agricultural county and is now one of the best in the state. To give an approximate idea of the rate at which this refuse timber was removed during the furnace period, the writer as president of the National Furnace Company, during its first four years after it was started, purchased for a season's supply over thirty thousand cords of cord wood, and my purchase only represented what was consumed by the National, while the Fox river furnace and the Green Bay would each require about the same. The furnace at Green Bay and the Fox river on the west side at De Pere closed finally about the year 1876, and the National in 1893, after a run of twenty-four years. All these furnaces were built about the same time.

"Before the National closed in 1893, they brought coal by rail from Wilson and Barkville, near Escanaba, Michigan, there being scarcely enough wood left in Brown county for fire wood for the farmers.

"When the writer first came to the county we were nearing the end of the fishing and hunting era, and entering the lumbering, then followed the iron and now the agricultural era, the best for substantial growth. We suffered loss of business during the changes, yet after each change was fully established, business became better than formerly.

"In view of the fact that the soil of our county is rich and productive, we may all be thankful that we had an iron era, to subject it to the use of the man with the hoe, and for the reason that the profit upon a single good crop now amounts to more than all the profit from the forest. The fact that the southern counties were prairie and quickly brought into production may account for their greater wealth. They were making wealth while we were in the woods."

The following paper by Howard C. Gardiner, a veteran millman and lumberman, written for the Green Bay Historical Society, gives a fine idea of conditions during the lumber era in Brown county:

"For a century and a half after the advent of the white man, the virgin forests of Wisconsin remained intact, and her rivers, with their tributary streams, flowed freely from source to mouth, unimpeded by dams and unvexed by water wheels.

"As a preliminary to what follows, it may be well to try to convey to those who in this *fin de siècle* age have never seen one, some idea of what a primitive sawmill was. First, however, it is necessary to show the conditions which existed in Brown county at the time when these mills were built. At that period the whole country was one vast forest, permeated by small water courses which drained the soil, and eventually found their way to the adjacent rivers. Since the timber was cut off, those creeks have to a great extent disappeared and the few that still survive are so wasted in force that they would hardly furnish sufficient water to run a dog churn. Such is the present condition of Dutchman's, Baird's and Hell creeks, streams that years ago furnished power to turn the wheels of the mills located thereon, as will be shown in the course of this article. Since time immemorial, water has been used as a motive power on overshot, undershot and tide wheels, but the turbine wheel is comparatively a late invention. This was the description of wheel used by our pioneer lum-

bermen, and for the enlightenment of those ignorant of the process, we will now proceed figuratively to erect an old time sawmill.

"Having chosen an eligible site, the first thing was to secure the services of a competent millwright (many of whom were to be found among the pioneer settlers) to prepare the materials and construct the mill, which after all was no difficult job as the mechanism was exceedingly simple. As solidity was a *sine qua non*, the timber for the sills was hewn from selected trees, and squared 16 or 18 inches. These were placed upon a substantial structure about eight feet above the water level. All the beams were of abnormal dimensions and the building itself was a one-story affair, some 60 or 70 x 25 or 30 feet. The site was graded, the tail race was excavated, a flume beneath the mill was constructed, the water wheel was placed in position and a chute was built to convey the water thereto. By a simple device the water, when needed was shut off from the wheel and suffered to run through the flume and tail race to the stream below the mill.

"The whole capacity of the mill was represented by a single muley saw which traveled in a slide affixed to the timbers above, and was connected by a wooden pitman, six or eight feet long, attached to a crank below the mill which received its impetus from the water wheel and revolved with great velocity. A jack ladder ran from the mill to the pond, up which the logs were drawn by a crude windlass. When a log was delivered beside the carriage, which ran to and fro, operated by a rack and pinion, it was rolled thereon by cant hooks and securely fastened by iron dogs. The slabs were taken from the four sides, and the cant was then manufactured into lumber, the saw running through till within three or four inches of the end, which was left intact till the cant left the carriage, when the boards were attached, and the 'stub shorts' as they were called, smoothed off with an adz. The head and tail sawyers usually constituted the mill crew, and the daily cut was from 3,000 to 5,000 feet. The dam, which was erected after the mill was completed, raised the water several feet and turned it into the chute and flume beneath the mill. The pond thus created was used for the storage of logs. Such is a brief description of a typical sawmill of the olden time."

The earliest sawmill in this district of which we have any record was, according to Grignon's published recollections, erected by Jacob Franks about the year 1809. Mr. Grignon says that Franks first built a sawmill, and then a grist mill, both of which were located on Devil river, two or three miles east of DePere, and were constructed by an American named Bradley. He says nothing about the "capacity" of the sawmill, which was probably a primitive structure which manufactured lumber for local consumption. We learn from the same source that Pierre Grignon in 1813 built a sawmill on Reaume's creek (now Dutchman's creek) on the west side of Fox River about four miles above Green Bay; and that in the spring and fall when "water was plenty" it did a good business. We have the same authority for stating that in 1816, the United States government had a sawmill at "Little Kau Kau lin," which provided lumber for the buildings at Fort Howard.

The next sawmill of which we have any record, was built by permission of the war department on Indian land at Duck creek. This mill was erected in 1827, by John P. Arndt, who claims that it was the first sawmill in this dis-

trict, but Grignon's statement disproves that claim. Judge Arndt, who was an enterprising man, claims that in 1834 he shipped the first cargo of lumber ever exported from Green Bay. The vessel he says, was loaded on Devil river near the mouth of Hell creek, and the cargo in question was consigned to Chicago. It would seem from above statement that there was a sawmill at or near the point of shipment, but we find no record of one. In 1846, Trowbridge, Gray & Root built a shingle mill at Duck creek, which was subsequently sold to Linus Marshall.

There were several sawmills on the Big Saumico river previous to 1852. Judge Arndt built one on the Big Saumico river, near where the North Western railroad bridge is now. Farther up stream, Richard Flint operated a sawmill in the early fifties at the point now called Flintville. This mill was afterwards owned or leased by Willard Lamb. A. E. Weed & Company had a mill located between Flint's and Arndt's in the early sixties. About that time or perhaps a few years earlier, a steam mill known as the Cooke mill was erected near the mouth of the river. This mill was subsequently owned by M. E. Tremble who operated it for some years.

At what is known as Mill Center in the town of Pittsfield, there were in 1855 and some years later, ten sawmills. It was from this group that the place derived its name. At this point the late David McCartney operated a mill; George R. Cooke, N. C. Foster, Sylvanus Wright and O. Gray were the principal lumbermen at Mill Center.

There was much lumber manufactured in the vicinity of DePere anterior to 1850, and though the mills were generally small, their output went to make up the grand total of Brown county's contribution to the lumber trade.

There was one mill, however, of which the proprietors were exceedingly proud, which is worthy of more than a passing notice, as it was considered to be a very large establishment for those days. This mill was built in 1851 by James Ritchie, with whom his brother Robert and Andrew Reid were associated. It was a steam mill and was located on the east side of Fox river at DePere, and manufactured lumber, lath and shingles.

In 1855 Squire and Sabin erected a sawmill at the west end of the dam, which in 1860 was purchased by Ritchie, who enlarged and improved it so that its capacity was materially increased. Ritchie stated that with this mill running day and night he could turn out three million feet of lumber and twenty million shingles in a season, which was equivalent to about one month's cut of an ordinary mill at the present time, running twelve hours a day.

In 1856, W. O. Kingsley built a sawmill at DePere which was subsequently operated by John S. Monroe. This was an extensive establishment for that period with a manufacturing capacity of three millions of feet per season.

As Little Saumico is near the line of division between Brown county and Oconto county, and as the lands appertaining to the lumbering establishments there were largely embraced within the limits of Brown county, it is perhaps proper to notice that point which before the advent of the railroad was tributary to Green Bay.

The first mill at Little Saumico was erected by Green Bay parties about 1844. A few years later they sold their interests to George Langton of the same city; he in 1854, transferred the property to George A. Sayre and John

D. Gardiner of Milwaukee, who built a large steam mill near the site of the original water mill, the capacity of which was insufficient to supply the demand for lumber. The new mill when completed was one of the largest in the district. In addition to the muley saw transferred from the water mill, there were two gangs a siding saw, lath mill and edging saws. The capacity of the mill when running day times was six million feet per season.

The next mill built on that river was owned by Herman Peters, and was erected about 1860, at what is now called Petersville, where Mr. Peters in connection with his son John, and his sons-in-law Winans and Olson, conducted a successful business in the manufacture of shingles.

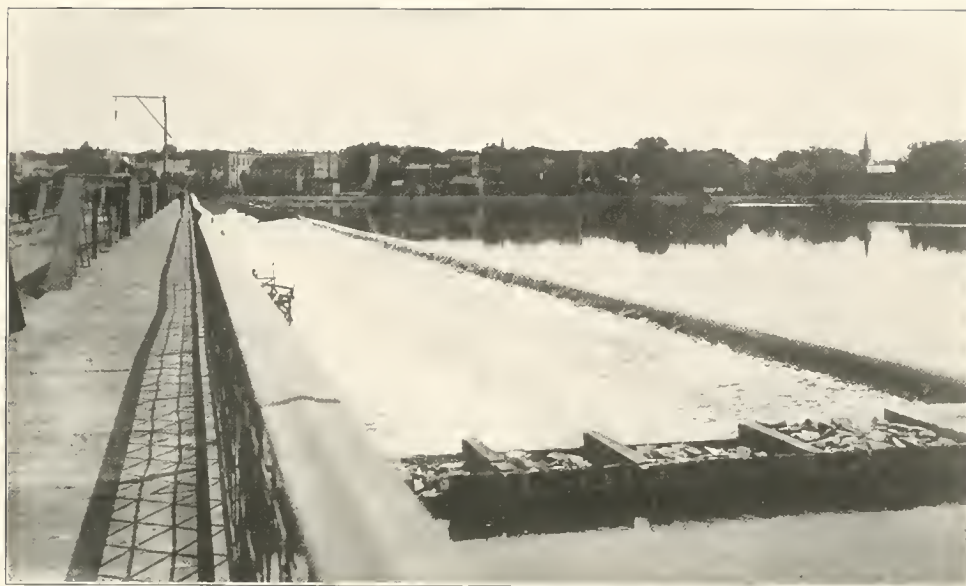
A few years later Gustavus A. Goose, Sr., purchased a mill at Chambers Island which was removed and set up near the mouth of the Little Suamico river. The old gentleman was sorely afraid of that mill, and when it was running he could not be persuaded to venture within a thousand feet of it. Nevertheless the old boilers withstood the strain, and no accident occurred till the mill was burned twenty-five years later.

During the writer's researches in pursuit of information he was sadly handicapped by the absence of details. The authorities which he has quoted mention sawmills, but the naked fact that a mill was built at such a time and at such a place is very unsatisfactory. Nothing is said about the capacity of the mills or their annual output, and every attempt to cure this discrepancy has failed. That there was a wealth of pine timber in close proximity to Green Bay and DePere is unquestionable, but the men who cut it, and hauled the logs to the mills, where they were manufactured into lumber and shingles fifty years ago, are all dead and gone, and the old residents whose memory extends back that far are not practical men. The ever revolving cycle of time has worked great changes, and a new generation has sprung up whose knowledge of past events is limited.

In our conversation with the old residents, we have elicited some facts regarding Green Bay's connection with the lumber industry, which we will proceed to record.

When the writer noted the fact of the first shipment of lumber in 1834, he also surmised that there was a "sawmill" in the immediate vicinity of where the vessel was loaded, though he was unable to find any record to substantiate his conjecture. In a recent conversation with Judge Ellis, however, he was assured that his surmise was correct. The judge said that there was a mill on Hell creek at that period, which he remembered distinctly, but though he recalled the mill, he could give no details regarding its ownership or output. He also stated that his father, A. G. Ellis, owned a sawmill from about 1837 to 1853. This mill, which was previously operated by a Mr. Sherman, was located on Baird's creek near where the Hagemeister brewery now stands. It was run by water power. The dam, which confined the pond where the logs were stored, was placed at a point where the bridge then crossed the creek.

I. G. Ingalls had a sawmill during the '50s, which stood at the foot of Jackson street, on East river. He owned a patent for preserving shingles and sold large quantities. O. A. Tooker about the same period, operated a large mill for those days. It was located east of where Hurlbut's coal yard now is. West of Tooker, near the foot of Washington street, Weed of Oshkosh had a big mill. Howe and Robinson operated a sawmill about 1855 on the west side



BRIDGE AND DAM, DE PERE



PAPER MILLS, DE PERE

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of Fox river not far from where Mason street bridge crosses. They manufactured lumber, shingles and staves. Gow, Marsh, Wilcox and Low, all had sawmills on the dam at De Pere at an early period.

We will not attempt further specific mention of mills, for during the '50s and '60s in this vicinity their name was legion.

After the admission of the state in 1848, an enormous tide of emigration set in, and the region of Wisconsin was sought by multitudes of pilgrims from the old world, and from the eastern states. The emigrants from foreign parts were mostly Germans and Belgians, who came hither to engage in agriculture, and the sturdy strokes of the axman resounded from every quarter, letting in the sunlight upon the clearing which was destined to be his future home. The lumberman came, and during the '50s the ring of the ax was heard throughout the length and breadth of Brown county, and as the tall pines fell crashing to the earth, they were cut into logs of the proper length, and hauled away to be converted into lumber. The woods were full of sawmills, and the shingle reeves were as thick as strawberries in Bohemian forests. The immense quantity, the desirable quality, the eligible location of the pine timber in Brown county, and its contiguity to navigable waters had a peculiar attraction for capitalists, and the United States land office at Menasha was flooded with land warrants, which were located on the most desirable tracts. At the government price of \$1.25 per acre, the cost of timber was merely nominal. An 80-acre tract which cost \$100 sometimes yielded as much as 4,000,000 feet, an average cost of two and one-half cents per M on the stump. The value of that stump-age at the present time would be from eight to ten dollars per M. It goes without saying that, when properly conducted, there was much money in the lumber business at that period, as the cost of material was a mere nothing, and the expense of logging, manufacturing and transportation was all that it was necessary to consider.

As all roads led to ancient Rome so all roads in Brown county led to Green Bay. In winter the highways were lined with ox teams from all quarters, as far north as Little Suamico, and as far south as Little Chute. With very few exceptions all these teams brought lumber or shingles. The Suamicos, Pittsfield, Howard, Holland, Wrightstown, Bay Settlement and all other towns in the county each contributed its quota, the aggregate of which, taken in connection with the product of the local mills, was simply enormous. Unfortunately we have no statistics showing the exports at that period, but we do know that there were at one time one hundred and fifty saw and shingle mills in Brown county tributary to Green Bay. Anton Klaus alone owned, or controlled, the product of twenty-one mills.

Shingle buyers thronged the street, ready to pounce on every load as it came in. Lewis and John Day, Marshall and Holmes, A. C. Robinson and others bought on commission for eastern parties, and for Milwaukee and Chicago firms. The 18-inch, made on special orders, were shipped east. The 16-inch found a market in Milwaukee and Chicago. In one year, Marshall alone disposed of one hundred million shingles. That was before the railroad came; and up to the time of its completion (about 1862) all the products of the forests in the vicinity were shipped from Green Bay. In early times shaved shingles were considered superior to those which were sawn, and commanded

a better price, but, with the introduction of improved shingle machines, sawed ones came to the front and eventually, to a great extent, superseded the shaved product. Up to 1857, the demand for lumber was good, and it brought fair prices, which yielded a reasonable compensation to the manufacturer. Green Bay lumber stood well in the market, and was considered to be superior in quality to that from other points. The prospect for an increased demand was auspicious, and as a result, the lumbermen were enthusiastic, and many new enterprises were inaugurated; but, as we shall soon see, their enthusiasm was crushed out, and their hopes were blasted by the reaction which took place in 1857.

The suspension of the Ohio Life & Trust Company, in August of that year, for the enormous sum of \$7,000,000, was soon followed by the suspension of every bank in the country, with the single exception of the Chemical Bank of New York City. The panic was universal, business was paralyzed, and thousands of manufactories closed their doors. The lumbermen of Wisconsin, many of whom had incurred vast obligations in the prosecution of their enterprises, were ill prepared to encounter the financial cyclone which swept over the northwest. Money seemed to have taken wings and flown away. Exchange on New York sold in Milwaukee at 12 per cent. The banks held notes, which the makers were unable to meet, and their collaterals were unavailable. As a result of such a condition of affairs, every millman was embarrassed, and a majority of our most energetic lumbermen went to the wall. They had invested all their capital in mills and lands and had incurred debts with the expectation of cancelling them with the proceeds of sales of lumber; when unexpectedly the bottom dropped out of the market, and the demand for lumber ceased. The large stocks in the yards at Milwaukee and Chicago remained intact for want of purchasers, and the dealers unable to dispose of what they had, were of course unwilling to buy more; in short the market was fairly glutted, and under such circumstances the millmen were reluctantly compelled to shut down. The city dealers, in order to force sales, cut prices to such an extent that the shrinkage was simply awful. Lumber, which was held in August at \$16, was retailed in October at \$8, and cargoes warranted to run at 20 per cent better than common, were disposed of at the ridiculous price of \$6 per M. Shingle cargoes sold as low as \$1.25 for star A's. Such manner of doing business was of course ruinous to the manufacturer, whose logs (making no account of the stumpage) cost \$2.50 delivered at the mill. The expense of sawing was at least \$2 and the transportation to market at least \$1.25 per M; hence we have, without counting the value of the raw material, \$5.75 per M as the actual cost of labor and freight; so that a sale at \$6 per M left a margin of 25 cents per M to cover stumpage, taxes, insurance, feed of the teams and a thousand other contingent expenses.

The dealer pulled in the same boat with the manufacturer. He whose stock in August inventoried \$100,000, with liabilities amounting to \$50,000, considered himself well off; but in October, the shrinkage had reduced the value of his stock one-half, while at the same time his liabilities had unavoidably increased. The unparalleled fall in prices had completely wiped out his equity, and bankruptcy was inevitable.

The lumbermen as a class were overwhelmed by the tidal wave of misfortune which accompanied the memorable panic of '57, and many a shipwrecked bark was left high and dry upon the rocks when in after years the water receded.

In discussing the deplorable state of affairs in the fall of '57, and the years following, the writer speaks whereof he knows. There are but few of the active lumbermen of that period now left, but those who are still living, and whose minds revert with sadness to the experience of those days, will corroborate this statement. Overloaded with debts, and spurred by their creditors, the manufacturers vainly attempted to force sales, but even at reduced prices, they met with no encouragement. There was no money in circulation, nobody was building and the absence of a circulating medium stopped improvements of every description. When buyers failed to make their appearance at the yards, the dealers sought customers in the country. During the winter of 1857 and '58, the writer, having secured a pass from S. S. Merrill, the superintendent, traveled for weeks along the line of the Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad, and at every station where he could find a man willing to pay the freight, he established a small yard. From these yards he received from time to time consignments of country produce, which he sold on the platform at Milwaukee.

It was during this season of depression in the lumber trade that the war came, when many of the lumbermen, weary of the long struggle against adverse fate, abandoned their unprofitable business and joined the army. Their lands were sold for taxes, and the treasury of Brown county was full of tax certificates, some of which were subsequently redeemed, but a vast majority remained in the treasury and were bought by speculators and sold to capitalists who had confidence in the revival of the lumber trade.

It was not till the fall of 1862, however, that this revival came. The retirement of the "wild cat" currency and the immense issue of greenbacks by the government, made money more plentiful and confidence was gradually restored. The price of lumber advanced to \$10 by the cargo and continued to advance till at one time it reached the maximum of \$25 per M for cargoes of mill run lumber, and those who had been so fortunate as to retain control of their mills, reaped an abundant harvest. Those were indeed the palmy days of the lumbermen, who redeemed their forfeited lands and had reason to congratulate themselves on the improved conditions. The pioneers, however, who unable to stand the strain, had lost their all, thought bitterly of the past, and sadly moralized on "the mutability of human fortunes, and the instability of human hopes."

In 1870, Brown county is recorded as leading the shingle markets of the world, the marketed product at Green Bay being 500,000,000.

The rapid growth in this industry led some anxious individuals in 1875, to ask whether at this rate within a few years would there be any forests to invade.

In 1860 the capital invested in lumbering in Wisconsin was \$5,595,380, the cost of material was \$1,965,031; the value of the product \$4,377,880. In 1868 a conservative estimate placed the product at 800,000,000 feet of lumber and \$10,000,000 as the value of the lumber and shingles manufactured that year. In 1870 the census statistics showed capital invested \$11,206,495, cost of material \$7,243,949, value of products \$14,486,673. In Brown county the capital

invested was \$692,000 in lumber, in logging \$21,500, value of material \$1,305,019, logging 30,346, product lumber total 71,110,000, with a value of \$1,510,277. In cooerage the value was \$58,293.

One of the most successful lumbermen in Brown county was N. C. Foster, who began his milling operations as sawyer at Rice's mill on Duck creek, not far from Sullivan's flats. Rice in common with other mill owners became involved in the general depression of 1857, and not having the cash to pay his sawyer the required two dollars a day in wages, offered him a half interest in the mill, a small one, in payment of his indebtedness. Foster took up the offer, in time got control of the mill, then moved to Mills Centre, where he made a great deal of money, moving to more lucrative fields as time and pineries passed. A resident of Duck creek in the days of Foster's mill says that almost all the young people, girls and boys in that vicinity packed shingles in Foster's mill during the sixties and early seventies. The logging camp was quite an institution. From fifteen to twenty-five men with four to six teams and a good cook composed the crew. The logger, usually the owner of the pine land or lumber, or a contractor to put in logs from lands belonging to others, was the head man or superintendent of the gang. The shanties were comfortable, built of logs covered with shakes (long rived shingles) or boards, making tight warm roofs. After the building of the shanty followed the making of wide smooth roads from the timber to the bank of the river where the logs were to be rafted.

At Stiles, Eldred and Balcom had a large water mill, and during the '60s this with all the mills which survived the panic of 1857 did a prosperous business. There were mills at Pensaukee, Peshtigo and Oconto, all doing a thriving business, but in 1858 Oconto county had seceded from Brown, so although closely connected with the county's interests and buying their supplies largely from Green Bay and other Brown county towns these bay mills with the exception of those at Big Suamico were outside the history of Brown.

About 1867, Anson Eldred built a mill at Little Suamico and twelve years later moved his interests to Green Bay, purchasing a large tract of land from Mrs. C. L. A. Tank on the west shore of Fox river and south of the Milwaukee & St. Paul railroad bridge.

The Anson Eldred and Son Company erected modern mills on their Fox river property and did a large and prosperous business, adding a planing mill to their plant a few years later. Howard S. Eldred acted as manager of the concern.

In 1883 the sawmill burned and was replaced by a larger structure with new and improved machinery.

The property was sold to the Diamond Match Company in 1896, was enlarged and run by that company until 1909, when it burned. The Diamond Lumber Company then came into possession, and the large mill built by them is still in operation and cut over 25,000,000 feet of lumber the past year.

In the meantime the Murphy Lumber Company had erected a large plant in Green Bay in 1882, at the mouth of Fox river, where a good sized village for the mill employes sprang up on the flat. The logs for these later mills were largely brought by rail, the towing of rafts being slower and more expensive than transportation by flat car. McDonald's mill in Fort Howard was also operated for many years.

The lumber epoch in Brown county has passed as did the fur trade. The streams no longer furnish power for the sawmill, and in many parts of the county as in the town of Pittsfield, with the disappearance of the forests the branches have dried up or remain only a swampy, stump-covered tract. In looking over the list of industries in Brown county one finds not a single "logger" throughout its well tilled length and breadth. There are extensive lumber manufacturing, lumber dealers, box factories, cooperage establishments, planing mills and sash and door factories to be found in Green Bay, DePere, Wrightstown, Denmark and New Franken, but the timber is gone, the lake craft loaded with lumber no longer makes port in the harbors of bay and river, and the great lumber industry of Brown county is a thing of the past.

(References for Chapter XVIII: Green Bay Advocate 1850-60; Wis. Hist. Colls. Vol. 15; Indian Conveyances; B. F. Smith; Howard C. Gardiner; Government Census, 1850, '60, '70.)

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CHAPTER XIX

BROWN COUNTY IN THE CIVIL WAR

The year 1860 and the one following—the first year of the great war—were spoken of at the time and afterwards as “the golden years.” Industries along all lines were booming; large crops of wheat (both spring and winter) oats, barley, corn and peas were harvested in abundance and excellent profits realized. Brown county shared largely in the fat of the land and throughout her borders was peace and plenty. The grain elevator built by I. G. Beaumont and A. Pelton was finished at Green Bay, Hathaway and Penn, lessees, with an aggregate storage capacity of forty thousand bushels, and was found absolutely inadequate from the first to meet the required demand.

The grain trade in 1860 promised to be larger than ever before. In preparation for the heavy shipments from the Green Bay port the New York Central placed two new screw steamers, Rocket and Comet on the Buffalo line, and these with the steamer Michigan made the tri-weekly trip with regularity. On the river the most important addition in transportation facilities was the Elwood belonging to D. M. Loy, De Pere, which carried ten thousand bushels of wheat at a speed of six miles an hour. The greatest crops of wheat ever raised in Wisconsin were during the years of 1861 and 1863, when the yield was respectively twenty to twenty-five million, and twenty-five to thirty million bushels. The price per bushel ranged from \$1.75 to \$2.00.

On July 28, 1860, Portage City called a meeting to consider running a steamboat from Portage to Green Bay. “The purpose for which this meeting is called is one of vital interest to every farmer in Columbia county. We believe that with united effort at least one good boat can be put in immediate operation and if so we are informed that responsible parties agree to take it and carry wheat to Green Bay for five cents a bushel. If this can be done the advantage to our city will be incalculable.” The Fox River Improvement Company was proving a success and the sanguine hopes of its incorporators were being realized.

A steady influx of population from the old world had increased the strength of the county to a great extent. Industrious thrifty people from many nationalities had already made each township a centre for trade and export for the growing agricultural wealth. Roads throughout the county were, however, in most deplorable condition, and to haul a good sized load of farm products to a shipping point was often an impossible task because of unsafe bridges and ill kept highways. Shawano county demanded that the Brown county board of supervisors put these avenues of trade in better condition and the inhabitants of Brown owned to the mortifying fact that in crossing their county line they entered on roads so neglected as to be practically impassable. Although the soil

was yielding as never before and the lumber and shingle interests were recuperating after the drastic panic of 1857, yet money was tight all over the country and the county funds must be carefully expended to cover the demands for even moderate improvements. In Humboldt and New Denmark \$60.00 apiece was allowed for the betterment of the roads and in Pittsfield and Scott \$40.00, while fording was the only means possible for crossing the majority of the streams, bridges being as yet an unhoped-for luxury.

East river boasted a float bridge and across Duck creek a substantial bridge had been constructed, John P. Arndt contractor, the specifications calling for heavy timber string pieces and sound planking.

As one scans the county newspapers of that year 1860, the Green Bay Advocate and Bay City Press, through the gossip on daily doings there becomes apparent a deeper trend of public thought at the time, the very gradual awakening of the whole country to the fact that a great Civil war was impending. There was little talk of the possibility of open rupture between the north and south and the sympathizers with John Brown and his radical attempt to free the slave seem to have been decidedly in the minority throughout this corner of the world. The people in general appear hardly conscious of the electric tension and restlessness of that critical period in United States history. Douglas was the idol of the hour, and even by many among those who had voted for Abraham Lincoln as president that exceptional man was regarded as an experiment, and lacking in the essentials of statesmanship.

The people of Brown county seem unaware from the record of their daily doings that a momentous cloud was gathering over the hitherto united nation. As an instance the winter of 1860-61 was of unusual cold and the Bay City Press, always a somewhat irreverent sheet with Colonel Harry Eugene Eastman at the helm, and John Lawe as publisher jocularly suggests that Georgia and South Carolina have carried off the temperate weather in seceding. "Come back, dear girls, come back, and give us a little balmy weather once again," is its plaint.

The Green Bay Lyceum, a literary fortnightly gathering of townsfolk with John C. Neville, a brilliant and successful lawyer, who had recently with his family settled in Green Bay as principal incorporator, met as regularly in Klaus hall as wind and weather would permit, but the subjects discussed by Judge Stephen R. Cotton, John Last, Timothy O. Howe and other prominent lights of the law were such as "The feudal system," "The Tower of London;" questions not of vital import in the great issues of the day. Deep in all hearts, however, there rested undoubtedly an unrecognized dread of threatened disaster to the country at large, although it was hardly credited that this rebellion of the southern states would ever approach closely their own homes.

In the autumn of 1860, Timothy Otis Howe was elected to the United States senate. As judge of the fourth judicial circuit and associate justice, he was already well known and prominent throughout Wisconsin; a man of sterling qualities and fine judicial mind and a forceful although not a brilliant speaker.

On the morning of the fourth of March, 1861, a clear sun greeted the crowds in Washington who had gathered to witness the inauguration of the sixteenth president of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. It was feared that there might be a disturbance from southern malcontents, but the day passed off

quietly. The president's inaugural address, calmly unpartisan though it was, and as were all the official utterances of this great man, yet unmistakably asserted the power of the administration to defend at all costs the inviolate Union. "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine is the momentous issue of Civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You can have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one 'to preserve, protect and defend it.'"

In the senate the great question under discussion was, should the government proceed to coerce the Confederate states. Senator Douglas claimed that there were constitutional difficulties preventing the president from using the war power effectively. The impossibility of the United States having resources sufficient to declare war upon the seceding states was another point hotly contested. Senator Howe, who had taken his seat in the senate, on March 22, 1861, made an able speech on this question. Deprecating the disparaging views of the strength of the government expressed by Douglas and others, Howe said: "Our notion has been heretofore that the authority of the United States extended to its utmost limits, and that the power of the United States was sufficient to defend its authority anywhere within these limits, and was quite equal to sustaining it against any nationality or any power in the world." And alluding to the question of slaveholding, "I fear we do not remember that the people of the United States have gathered within them the blood which freedom has shed upon all her battlefields, from Marathon to Yorktown. Do not try to subdue them. Slow to a controversy they are difficult to give it up. They have not forgotten how to die, they never knew how to surrender."

Later Senator Howe had a stirring encounter with Mr. Cleghorn of North Carolina on the subject of slavery ending thus: "Because they are, or are not permitted to do this thing, is that a reason why they should not contribute to the revenues of the United States, which revenues are to be expended for their protection? Because a citizen of North Carolina is not allowed to take slaves into Kansas is that a reason why our forts must be surrendered, why our troops must be driven back—why our treasury should be plundered, why our flag should be trailed in the dust?"

The fall of Sumter sent a tremendous thrill through the nation. There was at first a struggling disbelief of the unbelievable news, followed by sullen and rising resentment mingled with almost universal and enthusiastic loyalty to the Union.

Then came President Lincoln's call to arms: "Whereas the laws of the United States have been for some time past, and now are opposed and the execution thereof obstructed in the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshalls by law; now therefore I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the constitution and the laws have thought fit to call forth the militia of the several states of the Union to the aggregate number of seventy-five thousand, in order to suppress said combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed."

This ominous message, the most momentous ever issued from the executive mansion swept the country like a firebrand, for it meant the parting of families, of long time friends and brothers, and the breaking of ties forged by political and patriotic association. Many had doubted whether the president would interpret his war power to the extent of calling the Union to arms, and his stirring words roused the people like a trumpet call.

As early as the day succeeding the president's proclamation another was issued nearer home for the people of Brown. "For the first time in the history of the Federal government organized treason has manifested itself within several states of the Union, and armed rebels are making war against the government. A demand made upon Wisconsin by the president of the United States for aid to sustain the Federal arms, must meet with a prompt response. One regiment of the militia of this state will be required for immediate service, and further service will be required as the exigencies of the government will demand * * * Opportunities will be immediately offered to all existing military companies under the direction of the proper authorities of the state for enlistment to fill the demand of the Federal government, and I hereby invite the patriotic citizens of the state to enroll themselves into companies of seventy-eight men each, and to advise the executive of their readiness to be mustered into service immediately. Detailed instructions will be furnished on the acceptance of companies, and the commissioned officers of each regiment will nominate their own field officers.

"In times of public danger bad men grow bold and reckless. The property of the citizen becomes unsafe, and both public and private rights are liable to be jeopardized. I enjoin upon all administrative and peace officers within the state renewed vigilance in the maintenance and execution of the laws, and in guarding against excesses leading to disorder among the people.

"Given under my hand and the Great Seal of the State of Wisconsin, this 16th day of April, A. D. 1861 by the governor.

"ALEXANDER W. RANDALL."

War meetings were immediately called in Green Bay and De Pere, the two cities vying with each other in patriotic promptness. We learn from the papers of May, 1861, that the spring days were beautiful as never before, and that gardens and hedgerows were "beginning to blossom as a rose," the "flour and the wheat and the general fatness of the land is coming down in boat loads and barge loads, and batteau loads and broad bottom scow loads." Samples of Bay Settlement wheat were brought in by Jerome Forsythe "five feet tall, heavily headed, the grain encased in rich velvety pockets, averaging thirty-five to forty bushels the acre, and all the settlements are laden with this extraordinary stubble." No wonder the farmer dreaded to leave his land and living for war with all its horrors.

The Bay City guards held their annual election with the result that Frederick S. Ellis was made captain, T. Teneyck, first lieutenant, Joseph Harris, second lieutenant, and vigorous drilling was begun under Captain John Cotton who was well fitted for this duty from former military service. In De Pere, Captain Loy dropped steamboating and went to the Oconto pineries, the drive being over for the season, where he recruited one hundred and one volunteers for a three years service; hardy, active lumbermen ready and earnest to enlist.

. On July 6, 1861, the company landed in Green Bay on their way to join the Fourth Wisconsin Regiment, and the manly muscular fellows in their rough woods dress, and carrying handspikes instead of guns excited the greatest interest and admiration. At the time the Oconto company was organized there were no guns to be had and as a substitute easily to be obtained in the pinery district handspikes were used when drilling and marching. One of these driver's poles carried in 1861 by Porter Jones, who enlisted under Captain Loy is preserved among the war relics in the Green Bay public library. When the company reached Racine the mayor of that town refused to allow the men to march through the streets with such formidable weapons, and not until the colonel had become personally responsible for the good behavior of the recruits would the local authorities allow them to proceed to headquarters.

The Sunday following President Lincoln's war message there was not a pulpit in Green Bay, Fort Howard or De Pere that did not send forth a rousing sermon and this patriotic policy was continued almost without intermission until the close of the war. "Secession is rebellion, it is founded on no legal right. The Union is not a partnership of states bound together by a compact, but a nation," said Rev. William E. Merriman in preaching on June sixteenth, to a very large audience in the Presbyterian church in Green Bay.

On May 18, 1861, there was a flag raising at Fort Howard which is thus touched off in the columns of the Bay City Press. "About three o'clock a chapter on Cherry street became as a limb of orioles, or as the turning over of a leaf in a brilliant quickstep. It was lively—it was gay. There was an unusual flag on the ferryboat. There was an unusual alacrity in the ferrymen, boss and assistant.

"The short of it is that Miss Mattie Underwood and her music scholars were going over to capture Fort Howard and raise above its mouldy battlements a superb flag manufactured for the purpose. By a brilliant maneuver, Major Shaler, the venerable custodian of this ancient stronghold was made prisoner, and with him they made their way to the parade ground within the walls of the fort—the halyards were run up and the red, white and blue was sent to the head of the flagstaff one hundred feet high by the united efforts of the battle scarred veteran and the beautiful and gallant thirteen.

"And the major said that although he came there a captive and was a prisoner without the hope of rescue or redemption, yet it was one of the happiest days of his life. To see the stars and stripes once more floating from the old flagstaff was enough to fill him with pleasure and gratitude.

"He then directed the firing of the national salute—thirty-four guns—from the outside plaza, which were answered back by other thirty-four guns from Desnoyer's dock on the city side under the direction of ex-Mayor Goodell."

Not as lively a flag raising but one quite as impressive took place under the direction of Father Bonduel of St. John's church, Green Bay. "The beautiful flag was a part of the furniture of the altar, the Belgian choir was there for the singing of the Mass; Guardian No. 2's band to furnish national airs and anthems, and a few select voices to execute national hymns. It was raised on the flagstaff with deafening cheers, repeated and prolonged."

Henry J. Furber, at that time principal of the "brick schoolhouse" known now as the Sale school, with his scholars raised a flag over the "old brick" on

the Saturday following. Sheriff Daniel M. Whitney set a flag flying over the courthouse on Monday, and on Wednesday the Wide Awake boys raised a beautiful new edition of the stars and stripes in the village of Fort Howard.

Everywhere flags were floating, drums were beating, fifes were squealing, and over the white fences enclosing the lovely gardens hung snowballs and lilacs and all sorts of old fashioned flowers. The girls tilted along the streets in enormous hoop skirts, that held out flounced barege and muslin dresses. Their hair was primly parted and smoothed down on either side of the face, and their hats, low crowned broad brimmed affairs had wide ribbons to tie under the chin. A local paper tells as illustrative of the inflated skirts of that date that a Menominee brave, standing as immovable as a cigar store Indian on the streets of Green Bay and noting one of the belles of that town gliding down the newly laid plank walk on Washington street, grunted, "Ugh, much wigwam."

In April, 1861, the Bay City Press publishes the item that Leonard Martin, son of Morgan L. Martin, who was serving his last year as a cadet at West Point had with the entire class of that year been graduated three months ahead of time and ordered to the front. Letters of the time show that the youngsters were wild with delight, the trip to Washington was an exciting lark full of pleasurable incident. Young Martin was during the first years of the war in command of Battery F, Fifth Artillery. In the army of the Potomac under General McClellan, he served with great gallantry in all the hard fought and bloody battles of the Virginia campaign. In the last years of the war, Colonel Martin was in command of the Fifty-first Wisconsin Regiment.

William Emory Merrill, son of Captain M. E. Merrill, the former commandant of Fort Howard, was still another Brown county boy and graduate of West Point who served with great distinction during the war. Colonel Merrill graduated at the head of his class and was in the engineering corps, was captured and confined in Libby prison, a terrible experience to which he never cared to allude in later years.

The 4th of July, 1861, was observed with pomp and circumstance in Green Bay, the fair grounds, which lay not far from the crossing of Porlier street and Webster avenue were used for the first time, and formed the setting for quite a notable gathering. Governor Horatio Seymour of New York was the orator and guest of honor. The officers of the day were M. L. Martin, president, Charles D. Robinson and Charles Tullar, vice presidents, Dr. C. E. Crane, marshal, with Fred S. Ellis and J. F. Lessey, as assistants. The toast master was Harry E. Eastman, who filled the office most acceptably. The Bay City guards, afterward called the Union guards presented a fine soldierly appearance, and an impressive event was the presentation of a beautiful flag, made by the ladies of the city, the address to the soldiers being given by Mrs. Morgan L. Martin. There was much singing of patriotic airs, "The Star Spangled Banner," "Columbia the Gem of the Ocean" and "We'll Rally Round the Flag, Boys."

On September 7, 1861, the first organized company of recruits made up of Brown county men, left Green Bay for the scene of action under command of Lieutenant Arthur Jacobi. They were called the German recruits, and responded to a call sent out by government for a German regiment. To quote from a Brown county newspaper: "Lieutenant Arthur Jacobi, and twenty-one valiant Germans left in wagons for Appleton, there to take rail for Camp Seigel, Mil-



VIEW OF GREEN BAY, LOOKING SOUTHEAST FROM CARGILL ELEVATOR



waukee." Copperheads were, however, in evidence in Green Bay, as witness, "the river transportation line, E. A. Buck, agent, said that no one was to travel on the company's steamers at less than regular fare," whereas the United States government allowed for the transportation of troops to the front two cents a mile.

"After this unprecedented refusal Colonel James Howe appeared and claimed the privilege of wheeling them into line—railroad line on Bogart's wagons. John Jacobs' little steamer, the *Queen City* was at the dock, so Jacobs claimed the privilege of carrying the recruits with their wives and sweethearts as far as De Pere. Off they started in good style, on the gallant little steamer. Guardian Fire Company No. 2 on the roof, Germania Fire Company No. 1 on the fore deck. Wagons took up the soldiers at De Pere."

Thus was marked the departure of the first troops from Green Bay. Three sets of officers had been commissioned during the summer to recruit companies, the recruiting station being located first at the corner of Pine and Washington streets, then at the corner of Washington and Doty and later in the Goodell building across from the old courthouse, corner of Adams and Doty streets; but up to the departure of the German recruits not half a dozen had gone from Green Bay, and not over a dozen from the whole county. The spirit of rivalry existing between the active patriots of De Pere and Green Bay had a wholesome effect in arousing enthusiasm. Recruiting went valiantly on, under command of Milo E. Palmer in Green Bay, and of Joseph G. Lawton in De Pere. In September, "Palmer's company is getting along gingerly. There are already 78 names enrolled, and the spirit is moving deep and wide. On Monday General James H. Howe and others went to the Suamico fishing grounds, and hooked half a dozen fine fellows, and didn't have to half try either."

The Union guards of Green Bay were ordered to report at Camp Randall in October, 1861, and became Company H of the Twelfth Wisconsin Infantry with Milo E. Palmer, captain, and Nathan Smith and C. C. Lovett as lieutenants.

Since a large proportion of the soldiers from Brown county shared the fortunes of the "marching twelfth," reviewed in the diary of Robert Campbell and the reminiscences of Henry Smith and William R. Mitchell, a brief sketch of its history may interest the reader. The regiment marched from the time of leaving Madison, January 11, 1862, one thousand six hundred miles, was transported by steamer, one thousand five hundred, and by railroad, six hundred miles.

Reporting at Camp Randall in the fall in 1861, the wanderers found themselves at Leavenworth, Kansas, in February, 1862. Six days later they had marched one hundred and sixty miles to Fort Scott; twenty days thereafter they were at Lawrence, one hundred and fifteen miles from Fort Scott. Within two weeks an order arrived to move to Fort Riley, one hundred and twenty miles. Then they marched back to Leavenworth, thence down the river to St. Louis, and to Columbus, Kentucky. By this time it was June, 1862.

After enjoying a season of comparative rest in repairing railroads, in scouting and guerrilla warfare, the Twelfth struck Bolivar, where they were attached to the Seventeenth army corps. After the battle of Corinth they pursued the Confederates and participated in the movement which followed the surrender of Holly Springs. In February, 1863, they were on guard duty on the Memphis

and Charleston road; in March were in Memphis in time to take part in the Coldwater expedition under Colonel Bryant. Indulging in a slight skirmish at Hernando in which the enemy was defeated, the Twelfth joined Grant's army, were placed on garrison duty, and in June served in the trenches before Vicksburg. On August 17, 1863, the regiment joined the Seventeenth army corps under General McPherson and undertook some reconnoitering—then back to Vicksburg and to Natchez, more guerrilla warfare, more marching; finally with General Sherman's regular expedition and famous march to the sea.

Captain Carleton Wheelock who entered the service as a sergeant was promoted to first lieutenant of Company H, of the Twelfth Regiment, then to the captaincy of the company and later to the rank of major of the regiment. Contemporary with the Union guards was its rival the Brown County Rifles, recruited at De Pere under command of Captain Joseph G. Lawton, with George W. Bowers and Samuel Harrison as lieutenants. This company formed Company F of the Fourteenth Wisconsin and went into service at Fond du Lac sixty-four strong. Almost immediately on leaving the state the regiment went into active service and participated in the fierce battle of Pittsburg Landing.

Captain Lawton resigned previous to the siege of Corinth, and Second Lieutenant Samuel Harrison was promoted to the captaincy. He fell mortally wounded at the battle of Corinth, where an exposed position on a hill under murderous fire was held from nine in the morning to one in the afternoon by the Fourteenth Wisconsin and Fifteenth Michigan. Private Samuel Morrison was also killed and the color sergeant of the regiment, Dennis J. F. Murphy from the town of Glenmore was badly wounded. Murphy was a brave soldier and his office of color bearer was a dangerous one. The Fourteenth Regiment received high commendation from the commanding officer for the cool daring displayed in the battle of Corinth and was rechristened the Wisconsin Regulars, taking part in many important engagements.

To Company F belonged "little Cady" whose story was often told in the years succeeding the Civil war. Among the private soldiers enlisted at De Pere were two boys, James K. Newton and Henry Cady, sons of two of the most worthy farmers in the county. At the battle of Shiloh "little Cady" as he was called in the regiment got his death wound. Newton continued in the service, was promoted to a lieutenancy and at the close of the war entered Oberlin College. He subsequently became a professor in that institution and years after wrote the story of his comrade "little Cady." The pathetic incident was widely published in the newspapers of the day, but is no longer to be found.

Captain Curtis R. Merrill sent Newton's commemorative sketch to General Grant who in a note of thanks for the remembrance expressed sympathetic interest in the story of the two lads who followed the fortunes of the Brown County Rifles in the famous Vicksburg campaign where one lost his life.

In May, 1864, the Brown County Guards were enlisted for one hundred days. The officers of this company which was composed of Brown county men were James Camm, captain, and lieutenant Leonard La Plant.

Both Captain Camm and Lieutenant La Plant had served their term and reenlisted. A. Guesnier of Green Bay was one of the corporals.

Colonel William Chapman, a West Point graduate of 1833, who was stationed at Fort Howard for several years, and had served with distinction in the

Mexican war had attained the rank of lieutenant colonel at the commencement of the Civil war and was brevetted colonel. He was in the army of the Potomac and commanded a brigade under General Hancock at Malvern Hill, was at the second battle of Bull Run and participated in McClellan's wonderful retreat across the Chickamauga.

Colonel Chapman was of southern birth and for that reason it was believed was later retired from active service. He held, however, important positions at the various mustering points, was stationed at Camp Randall for a long period and did most excellent work in organizing and superintending the troops at other military posts.

Among those who left for the front in the summer of 1861, were Charles E. Crane who was made surgeon of the Fifth Wisconsin, James T. Reeve who became surgeon of the Twenty-first Wisconsin, and M. L. Martin who in August, 1861, was appointed paymaster in the regular army, with the rank of major.

At the November elections of 1861, James H. Howe was elected attorney general of Wisconsin, but resigned his office in 1862, to assume command of the Thirty-second Regiment, which was organized under his superintendence. Colonel Howe's regiment was mustered into service on the 25th of September, 1862. Company F of the Thirty-second was recruited at Green Bay, with Matthew J. Meade, captain, and Michael F. Kalmbach and Paul Dakin, lieutenants. Paul Dakin of whom Robert Campbell speaks in his journal of the Vicksburg campaign, formerly served as a sergeant in Company H of the Twelfth. He died July 12, 1863, at Memphis, Tennessee.

The German recruits who left Green Bay in the summer of 1861, formed Company H of the Ninth Wisconsin. The company took part in some of the hottest engagements of the war. The battle of Saline river so thinned the ranks of the regiment that after the muster out of the non-veterans it was consolidated into four companies under the command of Colonel Arthur Jacobi. Company H was officered at the start by Captain Gumal Hesse and Lieutenants Fred Holzer and Philip Kruer. Arthur Jacobi was promoted during the war from adjutant to colonel of the regiment.

Company B of the Thirty-fourth regiment was largely made up of Brown county men. It was organized at Camp Washburn, Milwaukee, under Colonel Fred Anneke. This regiment, the only organization from Wisconsin whose term of service was less than "three years or during the war," had as captain of Company B, James N. Ruby, and Henry B. Fox and Dennis J. F. Murphy, lieutenants. Their term of service expired and they were mustered out on the 8th of September, 1863, but at the expiration of their term many reenlisted. Company F, of the Fiftieth Regiment was recruited in Green Bay with Charles C. Lovett, captain and Charles Photenhauer and Frank T. Brayton, lieutenants. Lovett had served as lieutenant of Company H of the "Marching Twelfth." Company F entered the service in the spring of 1865 and remained on duty in the west for over a year.

Many residents of Brown county served in regiments outside of the companies raised within its limits. Maurice Maloney, colonel of the Thirteenth regiment; Edgar Conklin, captain of Company F, Twenty-first Regiment; H. E. Eastman, major of Second Battalion, Second Cavalry Regiment; Joseph F. Loy, captain Company H, Fourth Regiment; William R. Torrey, lieutenant colonel

First Cavalry; Charles D. Robinson, editor of the Green Bay Advocate who was commissioned assistant quartermaster; Charles R. Tyler; Charles H. White and many others. The record of the men who went from Brown county is one to be proud of.

An unhappy incident of the Civil war in Brown county was the case of Israel Green, son of Thomas Green, an old and respected citizen of Green Bay. The young man was a lieutenant in the marine corps of the United States Army, and took part in the raid on and capture of John Brown at Harper's Ferry. He was an impetuous fellow entering with zest into any undertaking, and was at the time, October, 1859, under command of Colonel Robert E. Lee, then an officer in the United States army. Lieutenant Green led the attacking force of United States marines who battered down the door of the old engine house where John Brown and his adherents had entrenched themselves. Green was the first man to rush into the building under dangerous fire. It is said that as the abolitionist, although wounded, resisted arrest, Lieutenant Green struck him with the flat of his sword.

After the execution of John Brown the government made inquiry as to the men who had shown especial valor in his capture, for the famous reformer was generally looked upon as a dangerous fanatic and a menace to public peace. Young Green was called to Washington and detailed as one of the military escort that accompanied on their return to Japan the Japanese embassy sent out by the Japanese government to report on the United States republic, the first international advance made by this hitherto self centered nation.

In August, 1860, the American fleet sailed for Japan bearing the distinguished visitors and after being royally entertained at the Japanese court returned to New York by way of Cape Horn, reaching port on May 2, 1861.

During the nine months that the fleet was absent no word had reached them of the close prospect of civil war and before Israel Green left the "Niagara" he was notified that he must take the oath of allegiance to the United States, for war was abroad in the land. The young man took the oath and immediately resigned his commission. His uniform was taken from him and he left without delay for his home near Winchester, Virginia; for his wife was a handsome Virginian, belonging to a family of wealth and influence and inheriting a large slave property. The blow came with killing force on the venerable father and mother in Green Bay and no word of explanation or regret came to the friends at home until long after.

On the 5th of August, 1862, Governor Salomon of Wisconsin, received from the war department a despatch stating that orders had been issued for a draft of 300,000 men to be immediately called into the service of the United States, to serve for nine months unless sooner discharged. That if the state quota under the call of July 2d for 300,000 volunteers was not filled by the 15th of August the deficiency would be made up by draft. The secretary of war would assign the quotas to the states and establish regulations for the draft. The quota for Wisconsin was 11,904, and Governor Salomon undertook to make the first and only draft that was conducted under the authority of the state. Subsequent drafts were enforced by district provost marshals under orders from the provost marshal general at Washington. The sheriffs of the different counties were directed

to make the enrollment, to appoint deputies, and to make lists of all able bodied men between eighteen and forty-five years of age.

Great impetus was given to recruiting by fear of the draft and many towns were able to fill their quota by offering extra bounties. The sheriff of Brown county was Daniel M. Whitney, captain of the mail steamer Swan and firm in carrying out his duty in the trouble which threatened on the enforcement of the draft. Orders were issued by the adjutant general directing that the draft should commence on Monday, the 10th of November, 1862, and continue from day to day until completed. Drafting was to be made by towns, and drafted men were to rendezvous at designated points. Green Bay, De Pere and Fort Howard were exempt, as they had filled their quota, but in the county at large, where the population was made up of foreign born citizens, many of whom had emigrated from the old country only a year previous, and who were working hard to gain a living from their little farms of uncleared land, there was stubborn resistance to what appeared unjust demand. From men who had come to the United States to escape the military conscription laws enforced in Germany, France and other countries and were not yet long enough in America to understand or sympathize with the Union cause came loud mutterings of discontent and in many cases armed resistance.

The Belgian colonists in the towns of Green Bay and Scott were in especial bitterly opposed to the draft and refused to comply with the governor's order. Several hundred strong and armed with farm implements, guns or any weapon that came to hand they marched to Green Bay city, prepared to mob Senator T. O. Howe, who was on a visit home, and whom they held responsible in great measure for the hated conscription order. It is recalled that Senator Howe, pale as death, stood upon the upper piazza of his residence and addressed the malcontents, but the majority understood not a word of English and as the murmurs and execrations grew louder the senator withdrew by a side entrance and was driven rapidly away in a carriage. The mob hurried back to Baird's stone building on Pine street where the county offices were. Here they were met by the chairman of the county board, Hon. John Last, a graduate from a Brussels university and thoroughly conversant with the French language. He, assisted by O. J. B. Brice, dispersed the rioters and in the end persuaded many of them to submit to the draft. When they did go to the front the Belgians were considered among the bravest and best fighters to be found anywhere.

The mayor of Green Bay, Henry S. Baird, on the morning of the riot having heard that an armed mob was on the way to attack the city and realizing the serious trouble that had occurred in other Wisconsin towns in consequence of the draft law, ordered that the draw on Devil river bridge should be swung and the belligerents stopped "by the old gentlemen's river." The old bridge of that day had a float draw, a crazy affair, but by intimidation or boats the rioters succeeded in crossing the stream.

By commission of April 24, 1863, Curtis R. Merrill of De Pere was appointed provost marshal for the fifth congressional district of the state of Wisconsin with the rank of captain of cavalry. "You will immediately report by letter to the provost marshal general, and will proceed without delay to establish your headquarters at Green Bay, Wisconsin, and enter upon your duties in accord-

ance with such special instructions as you may receive from the provost marshal general.

"Signed, EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*"

Captain Merrill proved himself eminently fitted for the work assigned him; a difficult position it certainly was, entailing promptness and courage. Immediately the fort buildings which had been dismantled were put in some degree of repair and garrisoned by the veteran reserve corps of the United States army, with Captain Curtis in command. The old town hall and courthouse combined was occupied as the provost marshal's office. Major Shaler, who had been in charge of Fort Howard from the removal of the troops in 1852, was replaced in the command of the old cantonment in the spring of 1863, by Captain Merrill, but retained his house, the surgeon's quarters of earlier days, and continued to reside there for several years. The examining surgeon of the newly organized office was Dr. Horace O. Crane. Dr. Crane had in the first years of the war been assigned duty as physician in charge of St. John's College Hospital at Annapolis, Maryland, and was regarded as an unusually able physician and skillful surgeon. As examining surgeon for the provost marshal's office at Green Bay he proved most efficient. He was moreover a great favorite with the soldiers, for whom he ever showed warm sympathy, giving ready aid when possible.

A suggestion was made "unofficially" by the chief medical officer of the provost marshal general's bureau that the examining surgeon in all districts should mark by branding each man who took the examination. It was a barbarous requirement and Doctor Crane, a most humane and broad-minded man, refused to have it enforced, saying that never should human beings, with his connivance, be treated as cattle. The following are the letters received by Doctor Crane, who sent in his protest against the practice. The suggestion probably raised a storm of denial throughout the country, for the last communication contains a peremptory order to discontinue the branding if in use.

"Unofficial

"War Department

"Provost Marshal General's Office

"Washington, D. C., August 15, 1864.

"DR. H. O. CRANE,

"Surgeon Board of Enrolment,

"Green Bay, Wisconsin.

"DOCTOR: For the mutual protection of Boards of Enrolment against fraud practiced by substitutes and substitute brokers, I would suggest, that you hereafter mark all substitutes or recruits who you may reject, in the small of the back, thus : + :

"This should be done without exciting the suspicions of the substitute or recruit so marked; and can be easily and harmlessly accomplished with a stick of nitrate of silver moistened.

"Any substitute or recruit thus marked appearing before you for examination carries upon his person the evidence of having been already rejected by some board of enrolment.

"This suggestion is made unofficially and confidentially and should you adopt it, I think it will save much trouble, which now exists."

"August 19, 1864

"War Department

"Provost Marshal General's Office

Washington, D. C., August 19, 1864.

"DR. H. O. CRANE,

"Surgeon Board of Enrolment,

"Green Bay, Wisconsin.

"DOCTOR: In addition to my suggestion to mark all rejected recruits and substitutes I would suggest that all accepted recruits and substitutes be marked thus: 1, on the small of the back.-----

"This will I think prevent to a great extent the practice of bounty jumping.

"Your friend,

".....

"Chief Med. Off. Pro. Mar. Genl. Bur."

"August 26, 1864

"To the Surgeon Board of Enrolment,

Green Bay, Wisconsin.

"DOCTOR: The provost marshal general directs that in case you have marked substitutes or recruits in any way, you will discontinue the practice at once.

"I am Doctor

"Very respectfully

"Your obedient servant

.....

Perhaps there was no period in the history of old Fort Howard from its first occupation by the French and subsequently by the English and Americans of greater interest and activity than the last two and a half years of the great Civil war. In addition to the veteran reserve corps, volunteers, drafted men and deserters were quartered in the fort, and were there subsisted, uniformed, equipped and sent to service. At times the quarters were filled to their full capacity.

On May 24, 1864, the provost marshal received notice that an Oconto company sixty strong would arrive at three o'clock P. M. An impromptu reception was immediately arranged for by Captain Merrill, who circulated a notice in the forenoon that the troops would arrive during the day. "On reaching Green Bay the company was escorted to the garrison of Fort Howard, where the 'Ladies Soldiers Aid Society,' under the direction of Mrs. Henry S. Baird, had hastily prepared a bountiful dinner. After dinner the company were drawn up in line in front of the hall where the ladies sang, 'We'll Rally Round the Flag, Boys,' after which W. J. Abrams was introduced and made a welcoming speech and then read an eloquent address to the company written by Mrs. Morgan L. Martin."

The first draft under the national act was made in November, 1863, in the old courthouse at the corner of Adams and Doty streets in Green Bay. The excitement and anxiety were intense and the city was full of people from the different counties constituting the district. The court room was filled with a more anxious audience than it had ever contained before, and no judicial tribunal, whether represented by Irving or Stowe or Howe or Cotton, was ever regarded with a more profound and breathless attention than was the blind man

who stood silently and passively beside the draft wheel. At the appointed hour the marshal announced the commencement of the draft. The commissioner broke the seals of the envelopes containing the tickets of each sub-district and deposited them in the draft wheel from which the blind man drew, at every turn of the wheel, a name until the quota of the subdistrict was filled. A week was required to complete the draft. The number drawn under the call was 2,840. Under the president's call of July 18, 1864, another draft was ordered and 4,816 enrolled in the Fifth district, which included the counties of Brown, Oconto, Door, Kewaunee, Manitowoc, Outagamie, Winnebago, Calumet, Waushara, Waupaca, Green Lake and Shawano.

The official notice read:

Head-Quarters Provost Marshal, 5th Dist., Wis.

Green Bay, Sept. 17th, 1864.

The draft will commence in this district, at these headquarters, on Tuesday, the 27th day of September, 1864, at 10 o'clock, A. M. of that day, commencing with the county of Manitowoc.

In accordance with a letter of instruction from the provost marshal general of the state, dated August 30, 1864, volunteers will be credited on the quotas of the present call up to the last practicable moment before the drafted men are accepted and forwarded to the rendezvous. A statement of the quotas and credits of each sub-district has been forwarded to each county.

C. R. MERRILL,

Capt. and Prov. Marshal, 5th Dist., Wis.

On November 7, 1864, Captain Merrill received the following note from the mayor's office in Green Bay: "Sir:—In consequence of the belligerent state of our country I feel it my duty as guardian of the city of Green Bay to call upon you for the veteran corps under your command, in putting down any riotous conduct on the day of election, Tuesday 8th, inst., should there be occasion to resort to arms.

I am unwilling to think that there will be any cause or sufficient cause to call upon the military department for assistance, but caution is considered generally the better part of valor.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

N. GOODELL, *Mayor*.

Once again in February, 1865, the following order was issued by Captain C. R. Merrill:

Green Bay, Wisconsin, Feb. 25, 1865.

Headquarters Provost Marshal's Office,

5th District Wisconsin.

The following order was this day received from A. A. Prov. Mar. Gen. Lovell, and is published for the information of all concerned.

CURTIS R. MERRILL, Provost Marshal,

Madison, Wisconsin, February 25, 1865.

Captain C. R. Merrill,

Provost Marshal, 5th District, Green Bay, Wisconsin.

Captain: The provost marshal general directs that the draft be commenced on Monday, the 27th inst., in such sub-districts as are making no effort to fill their quotas.

I am Captain,

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

CHARLES S. LOVELL,

Lt. Col. 18th Inf'y A. A. Prov. Mar. Gen. Wis.

In pursuance of the above order the draft in this district under the call of the president, dated December 19, 1864, for 300,000 men, will commence at these headquarters on Wednesday, March 1st, at two o'clock P. M.

C. R. MERRILL,

Capt. and Prov. Mar. 5th Dist. Wis.

The announcement of a draft no longer caused disturbance or wild excitement. The foreign colonists were by 1864 as deeply interested in the preservation of the Union as were the native born Americans. The German, Irish and Scandinavian population of Brown county had from the first been ready in offering aid and the Oneida Indians, always a warlike people, organized a company of sharpshooters under command of Cornelius Duxtater.

The news of the assassination of President Lincoln was first received at the provost marshal's office by the following telegram:

War Department

Provost Marshal General's Bureau

Washington, D. C., April 15, 1865.

Captain C. R. Merrill,

Provost Marshal, Green Bay, Wisconsin.

It is believed that the assassins of the president and Secretary Seward are attempting to escape to Canada. You will make a careful and thorough examination of all persons attempting to escape from the United States into Canada and will arrest all suspicious persons. The most vigilant scrutiny on your part and the force at your disposal is demanded. A description of the parties supposed to be implicated in the murder will be telegraphed you today, but in the meantime be active in preventing the crossing of any suspicious persons.

By order of the Secretary of War

(Signed) N. L. JEFFERIES,

Brevet Brigadier General and Acting Provost Marshal General.

That same day, April 15, 1865, a description of Wilkes Booth was received from Washington.

"The following is a description of the assassin of President Lincoln, Hon. W. H. Seward, secretary of state, and Hon. Frederick W. Seward, assistant secretary. You will use every exertion in your power and call to your aid the entire force under your control to secure the arrest of the assassin. Height, 6 1-12 feet, hair black, thick, full and straight, no beard nor appearance of a beard, cheeks red on the jaws, face moderately full. 22 or 23 years of age. Eyes, color

not known; large eyes not prominent. Brows not heavy but dark. Face not large but rather round. Complexion healthy. Nose straight and well formed, medium sized. Mouth small, lips thin, upper lip protruding when he talks. Chin, pointed and prominent. Head of medium size and neck thick and of medium length. Hands, soft, small and fingers tapering; show no signs of hard labor. Broad shoulders, taper waist, straight figure, strong-looking man. Manner not gentlemanly but vulgar. Overcoat double breasted, color mixed of pink and gray, spots small. Was a sack overcoat, pockets in side and one in the breast, with lapels or flaps. Pants, black cotton stuff. New heavy boots. Voice small and thin inclined to tenor.

N. L. JEFFERIES,

Bvt. Brig. Gen. and Acting Prov. Mar.

Four days later at Green Bay, appeared the following notice:

Order of the day

for the

FUNERAL OBSEQUIES

of

PRESIDENT LINCOLN

Wednesday, April 19, 1865

The procession to form at 2 o'clock p. m. in front of the Beaumont House, on Main Street in the following order:

MARSHAL, COL. BUGH

1st Assistant Marshal, C. E. Crane

2d Assistant Marshal, Anton Klaus

3d Assistant Marshal, M. J. Meade

4th Assistant Marshal, C. J. Bender

Veteran Soldiers

Clergy

PALL BEARERS

Hon. T. O. Howe

H

Dr. H. O. Crane

Capt. C. R. Merrill

E

A. Guesnier

Joseph Taylor

A

D. M. Whitney

Hon. F. S. Ellis

R

Hon. W. J. Abrams

J. P. Dousman

S

C. D. Robinson

E

Band

Committee of Arrangements

National Flag. Draped in Mourning

Mayor and City Council

Masonic Lodge

Independent Order of Odd-Fellows

Good Templars

FIRE DEPARTMENT

Turners

German Benevolent Society

Citizens on Foot

Carriages

The line of march was then given, and all public places of business, it was requested, should remain closed from 10 o'clock a. m. to 4 o'clock p. m. on that day and draped with mourning and that the flags in the city and on the shipping be at half mast and similarly draped. Bells were to be tolled during the time of the procession and citizens generally were requested to wear a badge of mourning "on left lappell of coat, a rosette of black crape, with red, white and blue ribbon for the space of thirty days."

Shortly after war was declared soldiers aid societies were formed in the towns of De Pere, Green Bay and Fort Howard. The work done at these meetings was of all sorts; but first and foremost lint was scraped and for this purpose old table cloths, rags, and even linen brought from former homes in the old country were used. One method of preparing the lint was to lay a plate bottom upward on a table or on the lap of the operator and to place a piece of linen on it; this was vigorously scraped with a case-knife until it was transformed into a fluffy mass of fibre. Thousands of bandages were likewise sewed and rolled up ready for use, for absorbent cotton was unknown, and after each battle bales of lint and bandages must be ready for the surgeon's hand.

Among the articles made at the aid societies were quilts and blankets, many of which had some cheering message or the name of the maker sewed in them. One of these patriotic quilts from the Ladies Aid Society of Green Bay, which was organized at the outset of the war with Mrs. Henry S. Baird as president, was discovered in 1884, in the cabin of a negro family near the battle-field of Bentonville, North Carolina. Only a few blocks were left. In the center of each square of colored calico was a white cross running diagonally and on this was written the name of the maker of the block and an inscription. Mrs. George G. Ginty's (at that time Miss Flora Beall) bore the following verse:

"If rebels attack you, *do* run with this quilt,
And safe to some fortress convey it;
For o'er the gaunt body of some old *secesh*
We did not intend to display it;
'Twas made for brave boys who went from the west,
And swiftly the fair fingers flew,
While each stitch as it went to its place in the quilt,
Was a smothered 'God bless you, boys,' too."

Another patch proclaimed the following lively sentiment but with nothing to identify the contributor:

"For the gay and happy soldier,
We're contented as a dove;
But the man who will not *enlist*
Never can obtain our love."

The only names of the donors decipherable beside that of Mrs. Ginty, were Mrs. J. V. Suydan, Mrs. Mary C. Mitchell, Miss Mollie Chapman, Mrs. Joshua Whitney and Mrs. Clara F. Shepard.

Mrs. Eliza C. Porter, wife of Rev. Jeremiah Porter was induced to assume the office of manager at the headquarters in Chicago of the Northwestern Sanitary Commission.

"Lovely, gentle and refined yet courageous, heroic and devoted, she here commenced a series of self-denying labors for the army that finally took her to

'the front,' where she faced privation, sickness and death; and neither paused nor rested from her work, so long as the war lasted."

The Reverend Mr. Porter had for many years been pastor over the Presbyterian church in Green Bay, where both he and his wife had endeared themselves to the people of Brown county. Mrs. Cotton, wife of Captain John Cotton, also went to the front as a nurse in 1862 and did excellent service.

The women of De Pere were even more active than their Green Bay sisters in packing and forwarding boxes of useful clothing and appetizing comforts for the sick and wounded. The names of officers of the Aid Society in De Pere were: Mrs. G. F. Marston, president; Mrs. Reuben Wheeler, vice president; Miss Lucy Wheeler (now Mrs. M. Burnett), secretary. Between the years of 1861 and 1865 the Milwaukee branch of the United States sanitary commission received about fifty boxes each from Green Bay and other Wisconsin towns. It received during 1864, 2,142 boxes, containing such articles as shirts, sheets, pillows, blankets, wearing apparel of all kinds, canned and dried fruits, wine, eggs, butter, cheese and groceries. The quantity of onions sent from Brown county was phenomenal and pickled onions were packed and sent in glass jars by the thousand. Brown county has always been a great onion growing district and the vegetable was used freely during the war as a preventive of scurvy among the soldiers. The grand total of pickled onions sent from Wisconsin during the war amounted to over \$19,000.

All this generous giving to the soldiers meant added economy at home for most of the work on the farms throughout Brown county was during war times done by the women who stayed at home. The newspapers congratulate the public on the large yield of maple sugar during 1862, which will enable the people to do without the southern grown sugar cane. All kinds of grain was used in place of coffee, and stringent closeness in the purchase of clothing was the order of the day. The Bay City Press notes that the young ladies are learning to make their own shoes, and the necessity for foot wear really forced this trade upon the needy women.

From the adjutant general's report of 1866 we find that the number of inhabitants of Brown county at that period was altogether 15,282 and that the "amount of money actually paid by the several towns for war purposes during the rebellion was \$68,965.99," a fine and patriotic showing for a district of country not wealthy nor well cultivated and which had been impoverished by financial reverses.

In the grounds surrounding the city hall stands a small brass cannon which was brought from the south after the Civil war. Cast in 1861, it illustrates the artillery used in the great rebellion, and is a reminder of those days of stress and patriotic activity in Brown county.

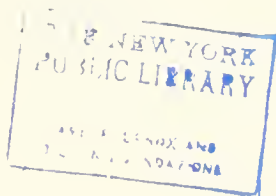
BROWN COUNTY DURING THE WAR OF THE REBELLION

By an Old Soldier

"Any well constructed and truthful story of Brown county during a period of say the ten years, dating from 1857 to 1867, will seem so strange to the present residents of the county, that they might well be excused for calling it a pipe dream, and refusing to give it any credence whatever.



BAY BEACH



"To begin with the county was almost a primeval forest. Three small towns Green Bay,—the largest—Fort Howard and De Pere were each sitting on the Fox river and each was only a little gap in the forest. Until 1860 the railroad ended at Fond du Lac and mails were carried in stages in winter and boats in summer. We had a steamer running between here and Buffalo, making a round trip every two weeks.

"Nearly the whole business of the county was making lumber and shingles, the latter being split and shaved by hand. There was no bridge across Fox river, and only one poor floating concern across East river. Loose bands of Indians were encamped all around. The waters swarmed with the finest fish, the woods were alive with the finest of game, the marshes raised annually thousands of bushels of wild rice. In short it was an Indian paradise.

"In the latter half of the fifties the county began to settle up rapidly. Irish came in large numbers into the south part of the county. Belgians came in big bunches into the north part. Scandinavians into the southwest. Germans, Hollanders and Flemish settled in and near to the towns. In 1857 there came a most distressing panic, which hit the county very hard; nearly all the business men were ruined and the condition of the farmers and laborers was something hard to be believed at the present time. Fifty cents a day was considered first class pay for several years. Men in the sawmills from the engineer down to the slab carrier all got fifty cents a day. The carpenters and brick layers that built the Beaumont hotel got fifty cents a day. A Mr. Davis who was the architect and superintendent got seventy-five cents, and they all had to take their pay in store trade too. I heard Mr. Pelton who ran the store and paid the men say that he paid out less than a hundred dollars in money for labor on the building.

"Business had improved a little but not much when the war broke out. In the beginning the optimistic said it would be over in three months and that there would be little or no real fighting. Each county was called on for its quota of men and Brown county sent hers almost over night. I have always thought that the depression in business and the condition of labor helped to send the men out on those first calls. While the soldier's pay looks small to us now, at that time it was really better than many of the men could do at home.

"At the end of the three months it became plain that the country was in for a desperate struggle and people began to feel and look very serious. Now right here it must be understood that Brown county was nearly solid democratic, but it soon developed that there were two kinds of democrats and that one kind was very different from the other. On one side they stood for the government and did everything they could to uphold it; I should say the bulk of these were found voting the republican ticket at the close of the war. The others we called copperheads, and they threw their whole influence against the government, discouraged enlistments and at times made a good deal of trouble.

"Well, Brown county sent her men as fast as they were called for for the first year, and then the volunteering grew slack and a draft was ordered. The parts of the county that had done the least, and where the draft struck the hardest, were the Belgians in the north part of the county, and the Irish in the south and southeast. In fact, the matter grew so serious among the Belgians that the authorities sent two companies of troops here and put them in

quarters at Fort Howard and kept them there until the trouble was over. They never had to do any fighting, however. I have never considered the people in those outlying towns much to blame for their actions. The fact was they were nearly all fresh immigrants, and had not been in this country long enough to know really what the war was about; they were really not Americanized at all. Added to this the Belgians could not even talk English, at least but very few of them and such men could not be expected to volunteer to fight, nor to accept the results of a draft either if they could help it.

"After results prove this to be true, for the first draft was for nine months service, and of those men who went out and served their time the bulk of them reenlisted and spread the patriotic ideas home in letters and communications to their friends and families, so that we got full quotas of men from these towns all the latter part of the war, with very little drafting. They were all Catholic too, and their priests being foreign like themselves, did not always help to enthuse them. Should a similar call to fight for the flag come to the county now, the volunteers would come from the descendants of those same men by the train load, who were so lukewarm at that time.

"I can not say that Brown county made any special record in the war; her men were so scattered. I think the county had men in every big fight during the war. The bulk of Company H of the Twelfth Infantry were Brown county men. The Fourteenth, Eighteenth and Thirty-second Infantry had nearly a company each from the county. Company H of the Thirty-fourth were all from Brown county. The Ninth had nearly a full company. So it will be seen that they were scattered all over the country from the Potomac to the Mississippi and from the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico.

"Sitting in our post hall at a social meeting a couple of months ago, I noticed one man who was at Antietam and Gettysburg, another who was at the siege of Petersburg, several who were through the Vicksburg campaign, one who was at Chickamauga, one who went through the Fort Donelson campaign, several who were through the long bitter Atlanta campaign, and afterward on the march to the sea and up through the Carolinas. One who was at Shiloh, one with Banks in the unfortunate Red River mess and so on, there were not more than forty of the old scamps present in all—and this after fifty years.

"It is sure that Brown county men saw a lot of the war. We did not send out many high officers, I can only remember two colonels, J. H. Howe of the Thirty-second and Colonel Jacobi of the Ninth.

"Carlton B. Wheelock, who for years ran the ferry across Fox river went out as orderly sergeant of Company H, of the Twelfth, and worked his way up, ending as major of the regiment. His brother-in-law, Colonel William Chapman, was a retired regular army officer, who did much good work in organizing, etc. Palmer, Lovett and Meade went out as captains, and of course there were many more that were line officers, whose names I do not remember.

"Mention should be made of many men who were most useful, who did not go to the war at all. It will be remembered as I said before, that the pecuniary condition of the county was something desperate at the breaking out of the war. Of course this made it necessary that good and efficient aid should be given to those families left without a protector. This work was nobly done. Often done quietly, sometimes even secretly, to save the pride of the recipients

—but it was done. I will give one instance typical of many. John Bruce of Big Suamico was a prominent lumberman and was at that time pretty well king of that river. When one of his men would show a desire to go to the army, but did not know how to provide for his family, John would say, 'You go, I will see that your family does not suffer.' Bruce was a widower and had a crippled arm and always kept a man to wait on him personally. This man told me some years after the war, that at one time the old man had seventeen soldiers' families in charge; that his instructions were to visit those families as often as might be necessary and see that they lacked nothing to make them comfortable. He used to go to the store and take what was needed for them and no charge was ever made. Bruce's store was the postoffice and general headquarters for the neighborhood. Such men as Bruce were very useful, in fact the rebellion could not have been put down without them and they deserve fully as much honor as those who carried the muskets. And what shall I say of the women through that terrible time. One thing I can say, I don't believe there were any copperheads among the women; I certainly never knew one. They simply backed us straight through. If there was a young woman who did not have from one or two to a dozen soldier boys that she was writing to and encouraging in every way to be manly and soldierlike it was because she could not write at all, and if there was an old woman who did not have a husband or son of her own in the army to write to,—my mother had both husband and son, and there were many like her—why she wrote to some other woman's husband or son and helped cheer him.

"Finally the desperate struggle was over, the government was saved intact, slavery was abolished and the Brown county boys came home with ranks sadly thinned in some cases but thankful that so many were left. Everything had changed very much in our absence—a fine bridge across the Fox, and a railroad running into the town. Lots of work for all of us and good pay. How we did slash the timber during the next few years, how the farms grew and multiplied and how everything has flourished ever since.

"Now as we Brown county soldiers, or the few that are left of us see these things we are satisfied and feel that our work of fifty years ago was good work, that it was the right work, that it was well done and that Brown county may well be proud of its record of fifty years ago.

HENRY SMITH, Green Bay."

The following extracts are from a little pocket diary which has written on the fly leaf "R. R. Campbell. Bought at Memphis, Tennessee, Tuesday, February 3, 1863.

By Capt. M. E. Palmer

Company H, Twelfth Regiment."

It begins, "Thursday, January 1, 1863. Was on guard near Lumpkin Mills, Mississippi. Weather fine and clear. Twelfth Regiment camped on Hominy Hill.

"January 6. Nothing of importance happens. Rumors too numerous to mention in regard to peace, etc.

"January 7. Fine and clear. Laid in camp all day doing nothing but cook my own victuals, coffee and slapjacks. These slapjacks are kind of heavy and we have to march tomorrow, it is best to eat light.

"January 9. The Twelfth leave camp about 10 a. m. March through Holly Springs, Mississippi, and camp on the north side of the city. Company H is put on camp guard at night. Soldiers attempt to burn the city. Twelfth have roll call several times during the night.

"January 10. Company H still on guard. Orders to be ready to march at a moment's warning. Do not get the necessary warning until 7 p. m. March to Coldwater. Weather fine for OWLS.

"Monday 12. Company H on picket guard near Moscow. 6,000 rebel cavalry expected in the night.

"Wednesday 14. Regiment are called out in the morning everything all wet. March in mud all day arrive at camp all wet. Camp one mile from Moscow. Rain all day. Roads indescribable. Get one spoonfull of whiskey. Snow in the night. The commissary is so liberal with this whisky that I am afraid some of us will get sober. They are more liberal to the officers, several of them get sober and the boys cry, 'Oh think of your head in the morning.'

"January 19. Regiment leave camp. March all day. Camp near Coliersville, Tennessee. Rain all day. Streams very much swollen. Teams have to swim. The roads in this country are something like those the boy had to travel on when he was going to school, so slippery.

"January 21. A person peeping into tent No. 6, would think that we were all cabinet makers but would be mistaken as we are only makers of our nests or only building bunks, its who's got the hammer, who's got the saw. The leviathan is built in tent No. 6 by Cook W. Whitcomb, N. B. The leviathan is a pile of bricks intended to make a fire on.

"January 28. All hands go to work on fortifications at Colierville depot. Weather fine.

"February 6. Cold and windy, not very comfortable in the cotton houses. Captain Palmer and private Curtis start for Memphis. Sent \$18.00 home by express.

"February 7. Company H go out as guard for forage train. Have a good time getting honey, get purty well stung.

"February 21. Quite a scare was raised this morning, the cavalry at Coliersville were ordered out to go out scouting, three revolvers had been loaded for a busy time and they were bound to discharge them.

"February 27. Company H, you will begin to think is on picket every day for they are on today one day off and two days on.

"March 2. Jas. Mitchell falls. Died while playing wicket. Kimball of Green Bay and Lieut. P. Dakin make us a visit. (Paul Dakin died that year.)

"March 4. The Twelfth are honored today by a visit from Mrs. Harvey and Colonel Howe and lady.

"March 10. The First Brigade of Fourth Division is passing here today.

"March 11. Fourth Division still passing here.

"March 14. The Twelfth Regiment start from Camp Butler for Memphis, Tennessee. March all day. Camp at night two miles from the City.

"March 15. Sunday I was through the City of Memphis. Was down on the Levee. Saw some of the great Mississippi passenger boats. One the 'Ruth,' a fine looking boat.

"March 18. Sent \$30.00 home by express. Went to the city in afternoon saw quite a number of the Bay Settlement Mountaineers.

"March 23. Went to circus in afternoon. On camp guard all night. Another sudden death in Company G.

"April 2. Grand review by General Hurlbut about two miles east of the City of Memphis near the County Fair Grounds.

"April 4. Fight is expected today, skirmish with the pickets. Dress parade today.

"April 12. Sunday dress parade in afternoon. Sermon by the Chaplain in the evening. Fine.

"April 16. Went to circus. Some of the Thirty-second Wisconsin were here to see us. General inspection. Orders to draw four days rations and be ready to march. Pretty sure there will be a fight this time. Rumors too numerous to mention as to where we are going and the force we will have to contend with.

"April 18. The Twelfth and Thirty-second Wisconsin, Forty-first Illinois Infantry, Fifteenth Ohio Battery 2 battalions of the Fifth Ohio Cavalry start on a reconnaissance in the direction of Coldwater under command of Col. G. E. Bryant. March as far as Hernando, Mississippi. The companies are skirmishing with the rebels. Camp for the night.

"April 19. Rained like ned. Marched to Coldwater. Skirmish on the banks of the creek. One of Company G shot. Pretty badly wounded. Retreat in good order. The rebels close after yet within one mile of Hernando camp for the night. Companies C, E and H were in the skirmish only one of the Twelfth wounded. The boys all sleep on cotton.

"Monday 20. March again for Hernando. Lay there in line of battle mostly all day, the cavalry having gone back to Coldwater creek. Forward again for Memphis. The boys have set fire to Hernando. Great destruction of property. Little children turned out of doors. Men threw brick at the windows. Barbarism.

"April 21. Forward to Memphis, march very slow. Get within nine miles of Memphis. Get orders and reinforcements. Have to go and try them again. The boys are tired and look down in the mouth at this. March for Coldwater, march five miles, camp for the night.

"April 23. Cavalry start for Coldwater creek. Find it evacuated. Destroy three tons of hay and plenty other property in the commissary line. Take quite a fine lot of horses and mules.

"Friday 24th. Forward for Memphis again. Rain and mud, pleasant traveling. The band come out to meet us on the outskirts of the city. Camp again all glad to get there once more, being almost seven days gone. We will have a good sleep tonight, so good night. Thus ended the reconnaissance.

"May 7. Papers state that General Hooker is at work on Rappahanock in Virginia.

"May 8. Extras today state that General Hooker has to retreat with heavy loss. Fears that part of his corps are bagged.

"On the 10th orders were received to strike tents and start for Vicksburg and the following day Adjutant Proudfit reads to the company at dress parade that Richmond is taken. Loud cheers by the Twelfth. Afterward they get slightly inebriated or tight. Loud cheers from all quarters until a late hour in

the night." On the 11th of May, 1863, the boys belonging to the Twelfth board a Mississippi steamer, the *Continental*, for Vicksburg. The heat was great. "Great droves of Negroes pass on their way north they are a gay looking set, some of them on foot and some on mules."

"The rebels begin to shell Young's Point, the gun boats go up and down the river, cannonading as they go. On May 18th the *Forest Queen* is able to carry the whole regiment at once. Landed at Grand Gulf on the 19th. I have now seen considerable of Grand Gulf and its fortifications, I have seen the great gullies that were left by the rebels, have seen the magazines that were blown up by the rebels when they left. Negro regiments, the first I have ever seen, some of the companies are quite well drilled. Cannonading in the vicinity of Vicksburg, my position for the night is in the corner of a rail fence with the heavens above for my covering and the stars for my candles.

"May 24. The Twelfth capture a cannon near Port Gibson. Took a long stroll in the country with L. Coddington. Got what mulberries I wanted to eat, and three quarts of plums.

"May 31. Was detailed to load commissaries. Company H gets orders to be ready at 6 o'clock with one day rations. Where the deuce are we going now. Likely to Vicksburg to support some battery. Who knows, we don't.

"There are any amount of Negroes here but they are allowed as usual to play gentlemen while a soldier hauls rails to make fire to transport their luggage north. Foraging report to Lieutenant Langworthy. Company G, one mile beyond Port Gibson. Darkies desert their master, terrible was the hot bob. I got what molasses, chickens and preserves we wanted. Weather hot as the mischief picking blackberries is rather hot work down as far south as this.

"June 8 was detailed to chop wood for the transports pressed a negro in service and seated myself, believe I could make a good slave driver. Drovers of colored folks come in from the country. Ordered to march. Reach Warrentown at sunrise. Boys crawl under old shed out of the rain this being the only building the city affords after the siege in which every house was burned.

"June 11. March from Warrentown to the rear of Vicksburg. Ordered into the rifle pits, some sharp shooting done. Some shelling done in the evening, one came near hitting us, how we do dodge. Weather hot enough to make the sweat run especially when carrying knapsack. Sharp shooting all day the rebels make some close shots but hurt no one. We are relieved by Company A. Splendid sight last night shells thrown from mortar boats on the Mississippi river, they shoot up into the air leaving sparks of fire in the air, then when they burst louder than the report of a cannon. Francis Couvillon, Company F, Seventeenth Wisconsin came over to see me.

"July 3. Peter and I start. Every minute a person can hear the thug thug of rebel bullets as they strike the trees that shade the camp. Peter and I started to take a sort of reconnoitre. When we get to the forts we find all the men standing on their forts and talking to the rebels. A flag of truce has been raised by the latter—an officer comes mad enough to strike his father and orders us down, and the officer in command to report at his headquarters immediately. Detailed at night for picket fine time no shooting.

"July 4. Still on duty in the rifle pits. Oh! here it comes—the white flag—while cheer after cheer rises from our forts and rifle pits. This is the sur-

render of Vicksburg on the 4th day of July. What a glorious old fourth for the Union Troop under command of U. S. Grant. The rebels are all for trade. Relics is what they are after. I try a piece of their roast mule. "The 12th now marches to Raymond, fifteen miles, where there were two jails and a courthouse and a battle was fought here in June.

"July 22. We are roused this morning at 1 a. m. as we are to be on the lead of our division. We start pretty early and get pretty well along by sunrise but we have a long road to travel today. We march all day have a small jigger of whiskey issued at noon. Camp twelve miles from Vicksburg. We are allowed to snooze this morning until daylight have a comfortable march into camp today but I would rather have not marched so far yesterday and marched a little farther today. We are glad to get into camp and more glad to find 3 large pails full of beans. How they did disappear.

"July 29. Orders this morning to be ready to move camp at 1 p. m., we move inside of the (used to be Rebel) Fortifications and camp in a sort of Basin surrounded on all sides but one with large hills.

"August 6. Went down to the city to see Joseph Tonnard of Company A who is sick in the Hospital Boat, Nashville. The Boat looks clean and airy and although it is very warm outside it is cool and nice inside the boat. The sick all look very clean some look very sick.

"August 17. I understand that our division now belongs to the Seventeenth army corps under command of General McFerson. Capt. M. E. Palmer gets his resignation papers today and starts for home without as much as letting the company know that he is going.

"August 15. Get orders at 10 a. m. to get ready to move at 12 o'clock, we are ready at the appointed hour and off we go for the boat. We marched aboard the Steamer Rocket. Stack Arms and go to work pretty hard to find room enough to sleep.

"Sunday, August 16. Arrive at the city of Natchez in the morning. Melons are plenty here and the boys are hungry for them. March through the city which is the prettiest I have seen in the south. September 16. Always on the march, with rebels just in sight. Walk with W. Mitchell, regimental walk after grapes.

"September 17. Went on picket on the Washington road, something exciting going on all day. Lieutenant Linell in command. There is plenty of girls on the road, some pretty good looking but a person wants a commish to have any show—commish is the chap, Lieut. C. B. Wheelock commanding Company H, Twelfth Wisconsin. Visits from General Crocker and Brig. General Gresham. General Crocker compliments Twelfth very highly. Col. Bryant back at Natchez in hourly anticipation of a fight Rebs 8,000 strong it is said. Cold as Greenland, Arnold and I start out to Jayhock some boards to fix our tent.

"December 25, 1863. Today is Christmas, had cabbage for dinner, cabbage and oysters, little Lager Beer and cigars. Went down into the city in afternoon with McFarnum to Nig dance, in the evening saw some of our officers dance with the cullod population. Sent out on Woodville road to Mr. Nutt's residence, two and half miles from camp, have a fine time rolling on the 10-pin alley. 1863 goes out howling; got permission to stay in small cottage at night; so cold that we could not sleep.

"Number of miles marched in 1863: January, 24; February, 7; March, 231; April, 122; May, 135; June 46; July, 77; August, —; September, —; October, 54; November, 89; December, 74. Total, 852 miles.

RECOLLECTIONS OF WILLIAM R. MITCHELL.

Mitchell was attached to the drum corps and became a very expert and spirited performer.

"I received my education at the public schools of Green Bay, and at Ripon College. When I had reached the age of sixteen, the Civil war broke out, and the entire population of Green Bay—men and women—were aroused by the news that our southern states had seceded, our flag had been dishonored, and the prediction was made by many in both north and south that the country was about to be broken up and divided into smaller principalities. Public meetings were held and finally the military spirit became so strong that a company of soldiers was organized, called the Green Bay Union guards. Milo E. Palmer was elected captain, N. A. C. Smith, first lieutenant, C. C. Lovett, second lieutenant, Carlton B. Wheelock, orderly sergeant, and a full line of eight corporals and five sergeants in the non-commissioned list. We were very energetic in drumming up recruits and when we reached the 100 standard we were accepted by the state and assigned to the Twelfth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, to serve for three years or during the war. When I asked my dear, sainted mother for her permission to go to the war, her eyes filled with tears and, embracing me fondly, she told me that I was too young to undertake such a life of hardship and privation, and she could not consent. But finally, after many days of argument, and when she saw how intent I was upon going, she yielded reluctantly upon receiving the captain's promise that he would allow me a discharge at any time that I found myself unable to endure the life of a soldier, as I was so far below the age limit.

"My brother Blish, only fourteen years of age, thought that if I was old enough to go to the war, he was also. My parents, however, could not see it in that light and so the young lad ran away and hid himself on the steamboat and when we arrived at Madison he called upon the colonel of the regiment and told him that he would like to go to the front. The colonel, seeing that he was a solid, robust, well-built young fellow, took a fancy to him and made him the guidon of the regiment whose duty it was to carry a small flag and place it at the position designated by the commanding officer for the regiment to wheel or turn from their former direction when out on drill or parade. I seemed to catch everything going—measles, mumps, malarial fever, swamp fever, chills, ague, and finally the smallpox which nearly finished my earthly career. But thanks to my brother Blish, and to my dear old friend Henry Smith, now living at Green Bay, who nursed me back to life on the banks of the old Mississippi at Vicksburg, I am still able for duty and doing a man's work every day. But no matter how long I live I shall never cease to give them the credit for saving my valuable life at that time.

"When my brother Blish first joined the regiment he wore a shaggy black overcoat that looked like a bearskin. We had a young bear cub with the regiment, good natured and as playful as a kitten. The bear took a fancy to my



Y. M. C. A. BUILDING



brother on account of that black coat, I suppose, and they would amuse the soldiers by wrestling and rolling over each other. The soldiers built a platform for the bear on top of a post about ten feet above the ground and with fifty feet of rope attached to his collar he went through all sorts of acrobatic tricks. The Negroes used to come in from miles around to see the bear. When they would get up too near his platform he would let himself down and run at the crowd who, with piercing screams would scatter in all directions, much to the amusement of the soldiers, for they knew that the bear would not harm any one but enjoyed this part of the performance as much as the audience. When my brother Blish would run in and wrestle with the bear, the colored people considered him a great hero.

"The Green Bay Union guards were unique in that they belonged to the Twelfth Wisconsin Regiment called the marching regiment, with a record of 3,900 miles on foot and 9,300 on railroad and steamboat, whose campaigns took them through every southern state except Texas and Florida—13,500 miles. They were also unique in having the record of losing more men killed and wounded in battle than any other regiment in Sherman's entire army, during the famous Georgia campaign where his army was too days and nights continuously under fire, where men were shot in their sleep in the middle of the night, and where his casualties amounted to 51,000 killed, wounded and missing. The southern troops lost 31,000 in the same campaign, they having the advantage of fighting behind breastworks and fortifications most of the time did not lose as many men as we did.

"The Twelfth was unique also in having the only black bear from the Lake Superior country, that followed our regiment when we left the state, and when the people of Chicago heard that this black bear would march with the regiment through Lake street, men, women and children turned out to see it and to hear our splendid brass band play, 'The Girl I left Behind Me,' the 'Battle Hymn of the Republic' and 'The Old Folks at Home.' The regiment also had a unique experience in trying to sleep on the frozen ground without tents on the banks of the Mississippi, when the thermometer was 20 degrees below zero, the ferry-boats were frozen in and we could not get across to our destination at Hannibal, Missouri. Our only consolation was that we had plenty of good fence rails and big trees to build fires with.

"After marching 22 miles over the frozen ground, many of the men having had their ears frozen, we halted on the banks of the Mississippi river where we received rations of hard crackers and raw salt pork. I did not wait to have my pork cooked but ate it right away, and I do not think I ever had a meal that I relished so much. The pork was very fat and was just what we needed on that cold night. During the night some of the soldiers brought in turkeys, chickens, honey and other good things to eat with which we made a royal midnight supper. The night was so cold we could not sleep but had to walk around trying to keep from freezing. The next day a large force of men succeeded in cutting a passageway for the ferry boats and we were ferried across the river to Hannibal, Missouri, where we spent the balance of the day and the next night in thawing out and preparing for a 200-mile railroad trip in Pullman cars that had no doors except the big door at the side and no seats but the floor. The boys found some haystacks, however, and they soon prepared beds with the

hay that were as thoroughly appreciated as if made by Geo. Pullman himself, even if he was the prince of railroad bed makers.

"At one of the stations I slid the door open to take a look at the beautiful scenery in that part of Missouri. Our big Captain Palmer came along and not seeing me tried to slide the door shut from the outside (fearing that we might fall out). My head was caught in the jam and for a few minutes I had a headache, but I soon recovered after they had brought me some warm tonics. The men sometimes complained about this primitive form of transportation but when we had to march from 25 to 30 and 40 miles per day, day after day for a week at a stretch, they often said that if they could only have the primitive Pullman's on the H. & St. Jo. Railroad back again they would be very happy to make the exchange.

"At Vicksburg our regiment took part in the campaign which for actual results accomplished more toward bringing the war to an end and which is claimed by military men to have been the most brilliant campaign of the Civil war. General Sherman claims that it was this campaign at Vicksburg where General Grant showed him from his original strategy how to subside an army without any regular base of supplies that gave him his idea about making his great march from Atlanta to the sea. At Vicksburg our regiment was assigned to General Lauman's division and in their fatal charge at Jackson this division lost 500 men out of the 1,500 who went into the fight in K. W. & M. The Forty-first Illinois lost 202 of their number out of 338 men, or 59 per cent; the Twenty-eighth Illinois lost 48 per cent. The position they attempted to take was strongly fortified and manned by double their own number and the dreadful slaughter of the Union troops without any beneficial results has placed this charge on a parallel to the charge of the light brigade at Balaklava.

"When we left Vicksburg for Natchez, nearly every man in the regiment was on the sick roll, suffering from the effects of the bad air and water from the swamps around that famous stronghold of the south where the river would rise fifty feet above low water mark, inundate the lowlands, leaving a thick coat of vegetable deposit which, when exposed to the rays of the southern sun, would decompose and fill the air with malaria. My uncle, Lewis Irwin, was the quartermaster for a Texas regiment and was taken prisoner. During the truce which led up to the surrender of Vicksburg, many of the soldiers from both the northern and the southern army laid down their arms and advanced to a blackberry patch loaded with fruit down in the ravine half way between the lines of battle. Eager to get some of the fruit, I joined the advancing party, meeting the enemy on as friendly terms as if we had all been brothers, and we all chatted and picked blackberries together as if we had been out on a picnic excursion. I learned from them where the Texas regiment could be found and the next day after the surrender, July 4, I took my haversack well filled with army rations and hunted up my Uncle Lewis. He told me that he was never in his life so glad to see a relative as he was to see me with my full haversack, as they had eaten up everything in Vicksburg and were now nearly starved. I gave him \$15 in gold pieces, as he was going north as a prisoner and had none of our northern money, although plenty of the southern currency, in which he said he had paid as high as \$1,000 for a sack of flour, \$900 for a side of bacon, \$750 for a cow, \$500 for a razor back Louisiana pig, \$1,300 for a mule, \$300

for a calf, \$100 for a pound of coffee or tea, \$5 each for eggs and other things in proportion.

"Our money at that time had also reached its lowest value and was quoted at \$2.92 for \$1 in gold. Rations were short with our army on the commencement of their trip after they had cut loose from their river communications, and Brigadier General Walter Q. Gresham being hungry, offered a soldier \$5 in gold for one of his crackers. 'Oh no,' said the soldier, 'you have a horse to ride while I have to walk. I'd rather have my cracker than your \$5 in gold!'

"In our regiment we had several American Indians and young men whose ancestors had the pure blood of the royal American Indian in their veins. Six thousand loyal American Indians were driven out of their homes in the Indian territory by the Confederates and located around Neosha Falls, Kansas, where most of their young men enlisted in the northern army. They were splendid marksmen and being brave and courageous they made the best of soldiers. General Grant was so impressed by the genial manner, the imperial dignity and the all-round efficiency of an educated young American Indian by the name of Parker that he finally made him his private secretary with the rank of brigadier general, and it was this General Parker who drew up the final capitulation papers at Appomatox which General Lee signed when he surrendered his army to General Grant. General Parker's statue in wax is shown at the Eden Musee in New York City every day with the group representing General Grant and General Lee with all their general officers at the Appomatox surrender, and although General Parker's complexion was very dark he always prided himself upon the fact that he belonged to one of the first families of America whose ancestors had come over before the Mayflower, Christopher Columbus, or the Viking ships. Parker was a fine musician and made many friends by his accomplishments in this particular line.

"In one of our flanking movements, just before the battle of Jonesborough, Georgia, we advanced through the open country and supplied ourselves with a goodly amount of vegetables, fruit, etc., which looked very good to a lot of soldiers who had been cooped up behind military fortifications all summer, living on salt pork and hard bread—bread so hard sometimes that we had to use a rock to break it, our teeth scarcely making an impression on the crackers that some of the contractors furnished. In our mess each one of us had to take his turn in cooking, and on this particular night it was my turn to cook. So I built a large fire and put on my big mess kettle for coffee and another for stew composed of all the varieties of food captured during the day, by the members of our mess. We were down in a wooded valley, the enemy were on the elevated ground on the other side of a small river. As soon as they saw the smoke of our fires coming up through the forest, they trained their cannon upon us and for an hour and a half they shelled the forest where we had camped for the night. I jumped behind one of the big trees and every now and then reached out to stir my soup. It gradually became very thick and soggy with the stones, sticks, leaves and earth plowed up by the shot and shell from the enemy. One of the first solid shot fired by them tore up the ground very near us, and looking in that direction I saw my young friend Morris Seeley, now living at Reedsburg, Wisconsin, who had been lying on the ground reading a letter from home, nearly buried alive with the earth that had been overturned by the shot. Find-

ing that he was not seriously hurt, I laughed at his predicament, but he said, 'Never mind, my boy, you'll get your share before the fun is over,' and sure enough I did, for after the cannonading stopped and I called the mess for supper, my coffee kettle was missing, having been smashed to pieces by a shell, that put my fire out, and my soup was so thick with foreign substances that we could slice it with knives, but it was nevertheless palatable to hungry soldiers, and they ate it all up.

"Another day, when we were down at Lumpkins Mills, Mississippi, I was sent out to get something to eat as we had been on very short rations and were half starved. I found some cornmeal and a barrel of sorghum syrup, I also found a jug full of linseed oil which I emptied and then filled with the syrup. Just as I had finished doing this the picket came rushing up and told us the enemy's cavalry were coming down the road and that we must scoot if we didn't want to be taken prisoners. So we scooted—through the cane fields and over to a friendly forest and then by a roundabout route returned to camp where we soon had a banquet prepared of corn meal mush, sorghum molasses and coffee made out of pease. The soldiers ate up all the food with apparent relish, but they never forgave me for the linseed oil incident.

"At another time, when the regiment was making a forced march, travelling sometimes 35 and 40 miles in a day, for a week at a stretch, we would get very footsore, weary and lame, and naturally very cross. One of the drummer boys on duty with the officer of the guard was ordered to get the regiment up at 4 a. m. the next morning, but he mistook the hands of the watch at 1.20 midnight and read the time as five minutes after four. So he jumped up and beat the Revielle, rousing the whole regiment up to get their coffee and hard tack and start out on the road. After marching for hours in the dark, the mistake was discovered and the poor sleepy drummer boy was the centre of a running fire of curses for the balance of the day.

"When our three years service was expiring, nearly all of the regiment reenlisted for another three years or during the war. Our first furlough was then given to us, 30 days inside of our own state. On our trip up the river from Vicksburg we had a pleasant ride on the large steamboat *Grand Republic* but at Cairo the weather became very cold and as we had all been packed into freight cars for a 300-mile trip, we had an unhappy time of it before we got to Chicago. There, the ladies had heard of our coming and had prepared a splendid hot supper for us. As we marched into the hall and saw the steam rising from the delicious food and the beautiful young ladies all in pink and white, ready to wait upon us, it looked too good to be true and we felt as if life were worth living after all, despite our rough experiences without anything but frozen food for the past 48 hours.

"When we got up to Green Bay we marched up to another banquet hall and were met by the mayor of the city who made a short speech of welcome home. Hardly had he finished his speech, when I heard my dear sister Jessie's musical voice from a window above, calling out: 'Willie, break ranks and come up here.' I lost no time in getting up those stairs and soon found my dear old mother and my sisters and brothers and other friends, and such a banquet! Green Bay was noted for her banquets but this was the climax of all her former successes in that line. And despite all they had heard of our privations,

I am sure that they were all astonished at the ravenous way in which we really did dispose of the good things that they had prepared for us.

"After the great battle of Atlanta, under a flag of truce, a large force was sent out from each army to bury the dead. The loss of the enemy were reported at 8,500 and our loss as 3,500. Our regiment lost 209, mostly killed and wounded, and all of the regiments of our brigade suffered severely as they were defending the key to the position in that great battle of Atlanta. Our splendid General McPherson was killed, Generals Dodge, Force and Gresham were wounded and many other distinguished officers and men were killed and wounded on both sides, causing grief and mourning from one end of the country to the other.

"At one time during the battle of the Twenty-first, when I was looking for the body of my old classmate at school, Henry Keeler, who had been killed in the charge, Captain Wheelock of our Green Bay Company reprimanded me for exposing myself to the fire of the enemy's sharpshooters. But soon after, when he saw me coming back, assisting my young friend Clem Boughton, who had been mortally wounded, our big captain, who weighed over two hundred pounds, came up to me and said, 'Billy, forget what I said a short time ago—I take it all back.'

"The Union guards of Green Bay covered themselves with glory in that terrific fight and Brown county, Wisconsin, can be proud of the work done by her representatives on that well-fought field. General Hardie reported that General Cleburn, the hardest fighter that we met in the south, had told him that this battle of the Twenty-first, (in which the Green Bay boys held the position of honor in the front line next to the colors), was the severest and bitterest fight of his life.

"Our regimental flag, while carrying which seven color bearers were shot in this engagement, is now kept in the flag room of General Grant's tomb on Riverside drive, in New York City, among the dozen or more battle flags that belonged to the General's original corps with which he fought and gained so many victories.

"On the battle monument at Vicksburg the names of all the Green Bay boys of the Twelfth Wisconsin are placed in bronze, with all other soldiers from Wisconsin who served in that brilliant campaign, and none of them have been forgotten by the good old state from which they hailed."

Letter from Col. George E. Bryant, commander of the Twelfth Wisconsin Veteran Volunteers.

"MADISON, WIS., Sept. 30. 1892.

"Secretary and Members of the Twelfth Wisconsin Veteran Volunteers:

"MY DEAR BOYS:—The Twelfth Wisconsin was composed of the flower of the flock from the best families of the state of Wisconsin. It was a grand regiment, second to none, and I loved them dearly. In all their hard service they never disgraced themselves or their commander.

"Their confidence in their officers and in themselves was something sublime, touching elbows when the shock of battle was fierce and when the march was long. Their soldierly bearing was observed and favorably commented upon by all in the fray as well as upon parade. Their marches were long from the wild prairie of the west where the wild buffalo furnished us with food. The regiment never turned back until they reached the dashing waves of

the Atlantic where General Sherman entrusted a detail of our regiment to carry the news of the capture of Savannah to the United States fleet outside, after a siege by the navy of over three years.

"Many of our brave company went down in battle, many succumbed to the fatal fevers of the south. As soldiers, the Twelfth had no superiors, and in competition with other regiments for prizes they nearly always won. As citizens, since the war they have stood with the best people in the land in making the prosperity we now enjoy. Slowly but surely the gray hair, wrinkled brow and faltering footsteps come on apace, but their hearts are still young when they review the history they helped to make when they fought with Grant and Sherman and McPherson and Logan for the preservation of our country and the honor of the flag. I remain, Your comrade and friend,

"GEORGE E. BRYANT,

"Commander Regiment."

Letter from Gen. M. F. Force, when judge of the superior court, Cincinnati, Ohio, September 6, 1884.

"Mr. N. D. Brown, Twelfth Wisconsin Veteran Volunteers:

"DEAR SIR:—Your letter about the charge of the First Brigade in the battle of Atlanta was mislaid and I am late in answering, for which please pardon.

"Our brigade, of which your regiment was such an important factor, carried Bald Hill on the morning of July 21, 1864 by assault, no other troops assaulting. The Iowa brigade next in line on our right made a demonstration by charging part way up the hill and then returning to their position in line at the foot of the hill. The Twelfth and Sixteenth Wisconsin made our front line in the assault and I went up with it. The Twentieth, Thirtieth and Thirty-first Illinois formed the second line and Captain Walker, the adjutant general of the brigade went up with it. Colonel Bryant, being the senior colonel with the Twelfth, held the right of the line next the battery.

"Just before the charge I rode slowly before your regiment and told them I wanted them to do their best in this affair today. The men looked at me with such a bright, determined glance that I felt no doubt of their success in that splendid charge in which they captured the key to the position in the great battle of Atlanta that followed next day in which so many lives were lost.

"The solid traverses thrown up by the Twelfth on the night of the 21st, aided most materially in holding the hill the next day when we were attacked on three sides. Having served all through the war I saw much hard fighting and many brilliant campaigns, but I have never seen nor read the record in any military book that would surpass the splendid work your regiment did in those two days, and particularly the charge on the morning of the 21st when you moved up the steep sides of the hill under the murderous fire of Cleburn's men, leaving the ground strewn with your dead and wounded as you advanced, then steadily closing on your colors and sweeping everything before you, every part of your line keeping up as if in parade. I am, very truly yours,

"GEN. M. F. FORCE,

"Late commander of the First Brigade."

To E. W. Arndt, one of our Green Bay boys. Letter from Gen. M. D. Leggett, after whom the name of Bald Hill was changed to Leggett's Hill and who was commander of our division.

"CLEVELAND, OHIO, June 14, 1892.

"*E. W. Arndt, Secretary of the Twelfth Wisconsin Regiment.*

"MY DEAR SIR:—I have neglected to write to you until the last minute, hoping that I might be with you at the reunion on the 15th and 16th, but as we leave on the 21st for a trip to Europe, I find that my business affairs will occupy every minute of my time up to the hour we leave. I regret this exceedingly for nothing would give me more pleasure than to meet the officers and men of the gallant old Twelfth Wisconsin on this occasion.

"I never can forget their magnificent service on the 21st and 22d of July, 1864, when under the leadership of their gallant Colonel Bryant they so magnificently charged the Bald Hill near Atlanta in the very face of a destructive fire, and captured that stronghold from Gen. Patrick Cleburn, the hardest fighter in the southern Confederacy. In his report to his superior officer, Cleburn says of this affair: 'It was the most intense fighting and bitterest fight of my life.' The next day Cleburn, with the Texans and Arkansans, made the first assault upon us from the rear. Smarting under his defeat of the previous day, he was determined to wipe out the stigma of his defeat by recapturing the hill from the men who took it from him, but he was repulsed with dreadful loss to his division. But in his assault he killed our glorious McPherson, captured General Scott, the commander of my second brigade, and severely wounded by a bullet through the head, Gen. M. F. Force, commander of my First Brigade.

"Your Colonel Bryant was the ranking colonel of the brigade so I notified him to assume command of the First Brigade. I remained with your brigade during the next two charges and became satisfied that the First Brigade would still retain its wonderful successful prestige under its new commander. Colonel Bryant commanded the brigade as steadily and wisely as if he had been a brigade commander for years.

"In all the great battles of the world there is no record of more splendid work done than by your regiment and the balance of the First Brigade in those two days of intense fighting, surrounded as you were by the enemy on three sides of you and fighting like demons. The other regiments in the brigade learned to repose the same confidence in Col. Bryant that they had in their idolized General Force, their previous commander. No division of the Union army saw more hard service and more hard fighting than your grand old Third Division of the Seventeenth Corps, Army of the Tennessee. It was never driven from a position it was ordered to hold, it never attempted to take a position from the enemy and failed, and was never defeated in its many hard battles, even in one campaign where they fought over ten battles and were under fire night and day for two months.

"These are facts of history which the survivors of your regiment and all the other regiments in your division may well remember with pride.

"My most earnest greeting to all the survivors of the old Twelfth Wisconsin Veteran Volunteers Infantry Regiment. Sincerely yours,

"M. D. LEGGETT,

"Major General in Command of your Third Division."

(References for Chapter XIX: Bay City Press, 1860-62; Love, Wisconsin in Civil War; Adjutant General's Report, 1865; Curtis R. Merrill, MS. Papers; Henry Smith; Robert R. Campbell; William R. Mitchell; Wisconsin Women in the War; Henshaw Sanitary Commission.)



CHAPTER XX

THE GREAT FIRES OF 1871—IRON FURNACES—DAIRYING

The summer of 1871 will ever be a memorable one in northeastern Wisconsin. The winter preceding was comparatively without snow and this was the first calamity to the northern lumbermen, as they were unable to secure their usual stock of logs. An unusually wet spring was prophesied but the prophecy was not fulfilled, and June and July failed to bring a compensating amount of rain. The swamps, usually covered with from one to two feet of water, became so dry that no water was visible and one could readily walk over the surface.

The want of water began to be keenly felt. The northern extension of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway from Fort Howard to Menominee was being built, and in the location of railroad camps the most difficult thing to find was a site where water was plenty. The railroad embankments were like hot ash-heaps into which the feet would sink at every step, and the swamps that had been considered the greatest obstacles to the cheap construction of the road proved the best working ground.

The Green Bay Advocate of October 5, 1871, gives these items:

"George R. Cook came in from his mill in the town of Howard, on Monday, pretty well used up from fighting fire all day Sunday and Sunday night. His mill and boarding house caught fire several times, but by great exertions the fire had been extinguished.

"Oscar Gray's mill in the town of Pittsfield had a narrow escape. He came in on Saturday night for extra hose to take out to the mill, and he and his men worked day and night to save the property. Some of the men had their eyebrows singed and their hair burned, so close was the conflict.

"On the Big Suamico, a large lot of logs in the bed of the river, amounting to over 130,000 feet, have been burned. They belonged to Lamb, Watson & Company, and Mr. Tremble.

"East of here, the mills over which there has been the hardest struggle, are Woodruff's and Sanford's. Woodruff's mill was reported on fire twice, Sunday. At the charcoal kilns of the Green Bay furnace, three miles from here, 1,200 cords of wood have been burned.

"A large force of men have been engaged for some days in fighting the fire just west of Mr. Elmore's residence in Fort Howard.

"In this city, (Green Bay), this morning the smoke is more dense than at any time before; the air is suffocating and is filled with flakes of ashes. On the bay, the steamers have to navigate by compass, and blow their fog horns, the shores being invisible."

Navigation was impeded by the heavy pall of smoke that hung over the water all that season. In the city of Green Bay and borough of Fort Howard, there was a continued fearful apprehension of danger. All were suffering more or less from

the effect of the dense smoke upon their lungs and eyes. By day, flakes of white ashes were seen continually falling in the streets like snow. Now and then, if the wind blew high, partially burned leaves would fall. More than once the flames entered the limits of the city of Green Bay and of Fort Howard, snatching here and there a fence, a hay stack or a pile of cord-wood.

The whole burned district in Wisconsin takes in Brown county, at the head of the bay, and most of the country, say fifty miles west and seventy miles north on the west, and nearly the whole peninsula on the east to Lake Michigan. It also took in a strip, ten to twenty miles wide, on the Fox river, between Lake Winnebago and Green Bay. The fire raged in this section, more or less, for two months. It is estimated that about a third of the standing timber was killed by fire. Up to the time of the great tornado on the 8th, settlers generally had been able to save their buildings and crops, but lost heavily in fences, bridges, culverts, corduroy roads, and all wood property. It is uncertain when or where the tornado first formed which was to put the finish upon this already desolated region. It is uncertain whether one tornado formed near the lower waters of the bay and there split, one-half rushing up its eastern shore and the other up its western bank. As it passed over the peaty swamps and marshes, gases were generated which it threw before it in great balls of fire. The forward movement of the wind was not rapid, but its rotary motion was so fearful that great trees were uprooted and twisted like twigs; houses and barns were swept away like toys.

No two give a like description of the great tornado as it smote and devoured the villages. It seemed as if "the fiery fiends of hell had been loosened," says one "It came in great sheeted flames from heaven," says another. "There was a pitiless rain of fire and sand." "The atmosphere was all afire." Some speak of "great balls of fire unrolling and shooting forth in streams." The fire leaped over roofs and trees and ignited whole streets at once. No one could stand before the blast. It was a race with death, above, behind and before them.

George W. Watson, who with Willard Lamb, owned mills at New Franken and Humboldt, thus describes in "Sketches of the Great Fires," compiled by Frank Tilton, of the Advocate, the tornado of the night of October 8, 1871. "We went to the house and were about to sit down to supper when one of the watchmen came running in and told us that the whole country south of the mill was on fire, about one mile distant, and that it was coming at a rapid rate directly toward the place. I told him that there would not be any danger of fire from that direction as the whole country had recently been burned over and that the fire could not run a second time over the same ground. The fire was absolutely coming at a frightful rate over the same ground that had previously burned over. It seemed as though every tree in the woods was on fire. The wind commenced to rise, and the fire spread from tree to tree in some instances twenty and thirty rods in advance of the fire on the ground. It seemed as though the heavens were on fire.

"Although the loss of life was greater on the west shore of the bay, the actual suffering was not as great as on the east shore. On the west shore were large settlements spared, to which the survivors could flee, and daily means of communication with the city of Green Bay. On the east shore there were no large places, the burned region being more a farming country, and the means

of communication with the outside world very limited. Houses, barns, cattle, horses, crops, wagons and household goods were swept away and the survivors of the population were turned out upon a desolate blackened waste, without food or shelter and no means of escape.

"The line of fire on the east side of Green Bay and the Fox river commenced in the town of Morrison, and extended northeasterly, following nearly the line of the peninsula of Door county for a distance of sixty miles in length by from six to twelve miles in width. It touched the town of Wrightstown and swept through Glenmore, Rockland, Depere, Bellevue, Preble, Eaton, Humboldt and the town of Green Bay. The largest settlements destroyed in this track of fire were New Franken, Walhein, Robinsonville, Harris' Pier, Thyry Daems and Dyckesville. Scarce a farm over the whole extent named escaped the loss of fences; and hay, cord-wood, railroad ties, tanbark, telegraph poles and cedar posts were swept away. Thirty-nine buildings were burned in the town of Humboldt, and sixty-eight in Green Bay township, and in the towns of Green Bay, Casco and Red River, 1,128 persons were rendered destitute. The losses in property on this line of fire could not have been less than \$2,000,000. The desolation was almost complete. If a building escaped it was an exception to the general rule. Green Bay city was really saved by the exertions of the people of Bellevue town, who worked all that wild night and checked the progress of the flames northward.

"Sufferers flocked into Green Bay and Fort Howard and every house became a hospital and asylum for women and children. The news of the burning of Peshtigo and the destruction of hundreds of lives was brought by Captain Thomas Hawley of the steamer 'Union,' from Menominee. The air seemed on fire east, west and south; waves and torrents of smoke still rolled around Green Bay. When the extent of the Peshtigo calamity was realized \$4,000 was at once raised and large quantities of provisions and clothing gathered. Mayor Alonzo Kimball, of Green Bay, called a meeting and committees of relief were appointed from each ward. Turner Hall was transformed into a relief hospital, under the management of Dr. Horace O. Crane, and the old hopeful, generous spirit of war times was revived in the hearts of the people. Green Bay was the center, too, of the mournful news that poured in from all over the country. Although money, clothing and provisions poured in on every train from all parts of the United States it seemed almost impossible to alleviate the widespread suffering, and the grief caused by the loss of the thousand lives could never be healed. Relief depots were established in Milwaukee and Green Bay and for months the work went on. In Green Bay alone, the receipts from October 8th to January 15th, amounted to \$91,085.98, nearly six thousand persons being on the list for this district."

Notwithstanding the desolation caused by the great fire, the following year saw farm houses rebuilt and the plucky owner of the land once more taking up with renewed energy the business of agriculture. Along commercial lines business was booming, for the years of the iron furnace industry had begun and given spur to many activities.

In 1866 a company, the New York & De Pere Iron Company, made a commencement toward establishing a blast furnace in West De Pere, but after spend-

ing considerable money and time, they suspended work and their efforts were looked upon as a failure.

✓ These were prosperous times; the farmers were selling for good prices what to them heretofore had been of little value, and at the same time clearing their land so that they could raise farm produce for which there was a ready market—their land increasing in value also. Each furnace employed directly and indirectly about one hundred and fifty men and fifty teams most of the year, using about twelve thousand cords of wood, for which was paid from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per cord. This, by each of the four De Pere furnaces, was a great factor in producing good times in Brown county. From a hamlet of 1,500 inhabitants De Pere increased in population to 5,000, and land values doubled and trebled.

Then came the panic of 1873, which resulted in great loss to the furnace companies and indirectly to all connected with them. However, after a period of depression and inactivity, business revived so that the furnaces resumed operations, the farmers were enabled to clear more land, to make improvements and raise the standard of living. This continued until the next financial depression, which, with growing scarcity of timber and increasing prices, resulted in the permanent suspension of furnace operations in Brown county; not, however, until the farmers had reached a degree of independence, which was hastened many years by the market opened for their timber by the furnaces. ✓

De Pere furnace was built in 1869 by the First National Iron Company, which was composed of B. F. Smith, G. S. Marsh, Robert Jackson, J. Richards and D. M. Whitney. The following year, A. B. Meeker & Company, of Chicago, obtained a controlling interest, and in 1871 the "First" was dropped from the name of the corporation, which continued business until 1876. Upon the organization of the National Furnace Company in 1879, by A. B. Meeker, of Chicago, H. D. Smith, of Appleton, W. L. Brown, of Chicago, and M. R. Hunt, of De Pere, the property passed into the hands of that corporation. Their property at the furnace consisted of five acres of ground lying on the east side of Fox river, a short distance below the dam, having a river front of 2,000 feet, and provided with 300 feet of dock, at which there was a minimum depth of thirteen feet. Upon these premises stood two stacks, number one being of stone, number two of iron. The former was built in 1869, the latter in 1872, each having a capacity of 11,000 tons annually. There was an engine and pump room, two casting houses, a stock house, in which were the crushing machines and hoisting works, boiler sheds, two offices, wood and iron repair shops, a weighing house, stables and sheds. Charcoal was furnished from kilns located along the line of the Wisconsin Central Railroad and Fox river, and was brought by rail and in barges, in addition to which an average force of fifteen teams daily discharged their loads at the company's yards, the product of kilns in the immediate neighborhood of De Pere, and at Greenleaf. The furnaces were supplied with two blowing engines for hoisting and crushing, ten horse-power each; two horizontal engines for hoisting and crushing, ten horse-power each, and hoisting engine on dock, fifteen horse-power.

The Fox River Iron Company was organized in 1868 by D. W. Blanchard and S. D. Arnold, became a joint stock company in 1872 under the following management: D. W. Blanchard, president; S. D. Arnold, vice president and business

manager; D. D. Kellogg, secretary and treasurer; C. H. Lovelace, superintendent and founder. The land upon which these furnaces were built consisted of a tract of about five acres on the west side of Fox river, just below the dam; fully one-third of the land was reclaimed from the river by filling in with furnace refuse. The first stack was built in 1868, and fires kindled, February 1, 1869. The first charcoal kilns, eleven in number, were built on the furnace premises in 1868, and had a daily capacity of 1,000 bushels. In 1869 and again in 1870, additional kilns were constructed in the timber country adjacent to De Pere, having a capacity of 1,400 bushels daily. A careful estimate shows that the wood from not less than one and one-half acres of timber land was consumed by each stack daily, leaving the land available for agricultural purposes. At Green Bay the Green Bay Iron Furnace Company, inaugurated by John C. Neville, was completed at a cost of \$50,000, and went into operation on September 22, 1870.

The county and its manufactories suffered from the panic in 1873, but on the whole, weathered that stormy period successfully. New firms went into operation, De Pere and Fort Howard doing more in this line than Green Bay. Money was plentiful; the social life of the several towns was never gayer or more full of hospitality and good cheer. The winter brought sleighing parties and dances without limit; the summer saw the bay and river given over to water sports and excursions to points along the shore.

New Year's day was an event of much jollity and New Year calls began to be an established custom in the river towns as early as 1856. When first instituted everybody kept open house, the ladies of each family vying with the other in the generous provisioning of the table. There was turkey and chicken salad, wine jelly, whip-sillibub, cake of many kinds, thin slices of pink ham, coffee and sometimes wine. All dressed in their best, the ladies awaited the jolly sleigh loads of men, bundled up to the eyes in furs, sometimes as many as ten in a load. Among the older men, the old New Year's custom prevailed of saluting the ladies on entering the house and there were "jokes and quips and wreathed smiles." The house was still decked in its Christmas greens, with ground pine and evergreen over doors and windows, and open fires blazed in the fireplaces. Later the custom grew of several families joining and receiving at one of the houses, and although this added to the liveliness of the occasion, yet it was on the whole not so well enjoyed as was the old time method. Now the custom has entirely disappeared and will probably never be revived with the different manners and more conventional life of the present age.

DAIRY INTERESTS

The dairy interests of Brown county were at an early day scattering and meagre, as was the case with all the western country. Attention was given more by the early settlers to clearing the land, building their dwelling houses, which must be done usually by their own hands, and going into agriculture to the extent of raising crops sufficient for their own use. As the lumber industry grew and a regular market was required in Green Bay and De Pere, the farmers turned their attention more to general agriculture. The Hollanders were many of them expert buttermakers, as were the wives of settlers from New England and New York, Dutchess county of the latter state being especially rich in dairy products. There was no systematic plan, however.

"A roll of fresh, untainted butter was an article impossible to secure in early Green Bay. Firkins came to the little commune from unscrupulous dealers in the eastern market, the odor of which impregnated the atmosphere even before the kegs were fairly unsealed. When this sort of cargo arrived late in the autumn, no redress was possible."

The tide of emigration from the old country began about 1848; the thrifty denizens of Germany, Holland and Scandinavia, the hardy and industrious Belgians and Irish, cleared for themselves farms in the midst of the forest, undergoing all sorts of privations, but in the end winning out in the race. One of these pioneer farmers, John Platten, who came from Holland with his parents in 1842, says, "Our nearest neighbors at this time were seven miles north, ten miles south and none at all west. The next winter a squad of Indians terrified us by making their camping grounds near us, rendering us as helpless as caged birds. Happily they became very friendly, bringing us venison in exchange for potatoes."

The Wisconsin Agricultural Society was organized in 1851, and at once began a systematic inquiry into the progress made along that line throughout the state. Dairying came in for a share of discussion, an expert from the east giving his views at this time, said: "I have never considered Wisconsin preeminently a dairying state, yet there are many portions well adapted to the business." In cheese making little was done throughout the state, almost none in Brown county, although farmers here and there owned a press and turned out a cheese or so during the year.

In 1850, census returns show just one cheese was made in Brown county, but the meagre record does not state the name of the bold spirit who undertook this experiment in pioneer cheese making.

That Green Bay was well supplied with cows in the year 1850 is proven by the following skit in the Green Bay Advocate of September 19, 1850:

"We find written from this place a letter by some nimmyhead of which the following is a specimen: 'The present towns, for there are two or three rival interests, are standing upon the beach sand, beyond which they can scarcely be said to have extended, and in the principal business street from one end to another the sand is fetlock deep to the horses traveling it.

" 'The lands for a long distance about this place are thrown open to commons. In a morning walk upon the terrace which overlooks the town we counted upon these commons grazing, one hundred and twelve cows, in company with about fifteen horses, collected together like a herd of buffalo, in close compass feeding and drifting peaceably from the town, yet with the unceasing confusion of sounds caused by the tones of over fifty bells'."

"The beach don't happen to be beach sand, it is the light sandy *soil* which extends back a mile or so from the river, and the town may be said to extend with it. True it is 'fetlock deep' in the streets but that is far better than mud—with which we are never troubled. The second paragraph which we have copied is a pretty good indication of the writer's character. We should think he was just about such a man as would go around in the morning counting cows. Had another been counting about that time he would have made the result thus: One hundred and twelve cows, fifteen horses, and one jackass."

In 1880 the following item is written: "Brown county is the quiet, philosophic home of the cow. The milk goes to the cheese factory at the crossroads or to



SCENE ON BURDON FARM, TOWN OF HOWARD



VIEW ON EAST RIVER, LOOKING SOUTH

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the creamery which is to be seen near the railway station, a milk depot indeed. The disposal of the milk at the creamery is a most systematic operation. The farmer drives to the side of the building and his cans are hoisted to a loft, where the milk is weighed and tested with a sort of hydrometer, which tells exactly the proportion of butter fat in the product. Along with his empty cans he receives a brass check. Then he drives around to the other side of the building where is a hose about the size of one used in metropolitan fire departments. He inserts the check in a slot in the side of the building whereupon the hose squirts out his due amount of skim milk."

Brown county farmers were careless in putting fences around their pasture land; the cows strayed in the woods or were lost eternally in the tamarack swamps. The Wisconsin Agricultural Society laments these thriftless methods and gives lengthy directions as to the making of fences, the Virginia or worm, rail, zigzag or snake fence being the most popular. In 1852 Mrs. Edgerton, of Summit, having received a diploma for the best fifty pounds of butter by the State Agricultural Society reports, "This butter was made in September from a dairy of eight cows, being a cross of Durham with the native. The milk is set in eight quart tins, and left to stand twenty-four hours before skimming, except in hot weather, when the milk would sour sooner. The churning is done three times a week, in a common stone churn. Two ounces of common salt are added for each pound of butter and subsequently it is worked twice with a wooden ladle—once at the time of salting, and the second time twenty-four hours later." The butter is worked as little as possible to get out the buttermilk. We use no saltpetre, or any other substance. We make very little winter butter, usually scald the new milk, and set it in a room where it will not freeze for twelve hours. The further process is the same as above.

Notwithstanding the laborious process of churning and working most delicious butter was made during the '50s and '60s at Duck Creek, Holland, Denmark, Ashwaubenon and elsewhere in Brown county, and was brought in with other farm products to the market at Green Bay, De Pere or Wrightstown. The butter was made up into pound and half pound rolls or pats, and was marked not by the name of the maker, but with prints more or less elaborate in design of roses and other floral emblems, or geometric figures.

The old time dairy was a room built separate from the dwelling house, and if possible over running water. The spring house was a common adjunct of the farm, for living springs were not uncommon, many of them with mineral properties, and brooks and little streams filled with brook trout were a feature of early Brown county. As, with the milling industry, these streams on which early mills were situated dried up and dwindled with the destruction of the forests, and the farm dairy house, a most attractive place on a warm summer day, cool and airy, with its rows of shining tin milk pans filled with yellow cream was replaced by a less picturesque system of butter making.

There seems to have been little talk of sanitary conditions in the annual meetings of the State Agricultural Society, or in the Brown County Agricultural Society at an early day, but there were many warnings as to keeping the dairy clean, the tin pans shining, and great care was urged in not using milk that had stood too long, simply because the butter might have a disagreeable taste.

The year preceding the Civil war, Henry S. Baird of Green Bay, wrote: "Brown county being well watered by numerous living springs and small streams and possessing a large amount of natural meadows of rich grass, is well adapted to raising stock and for dairy purposes. There are several large settlements consisting of well cultivated farms and substantial improvements; the principal are in the towns of Green Bay, Glenmore, Holland, the Belgian settlement, Morrison, New Denmark, Howard, Suamico, Duck Creek, Bellevue, Wrightstown, De Pere, Lawrence, Preble and the Oneida settlement. The farms are for the most part well cleared and well cultivated, with good and substantial rail and board fences, comfortable dwellings of log or frame construction, many of the latter being neat and commodious with good and ample barns, stables and other outbuildings.

"The farming community is of a mixed character, being Americans, Germans, Belgians, Hollanders, some Irish, Danes and French; but the latter who formerly formed a large majority of the population are fast disappearing before the people of other classes, who greatly outnumber the old Canadian French. As a general thing the foreigners who cultivate the soil are good farmers; they do not cultivate very large farms but do it well."

This report of Brown county's rural industries was the last word on that subject for eight years, except for occasional allusions through the local press. The great Civil war shook the country and in Brown county as elsewhere the men were away from their farms and fighting for their country.

The Wisconsin Agricultural Society went out of commission for eight years, no meetings were held, its annual appropriation from the state of \$3,000 was necessarily discontinued with the understanding that this amount should be renewed at the close of the war. In 1868 the first volume of transactions in eight years was published, but the society found it impossible to gather statistics as to what had been accomplished along economic lines that were at all full or accurate, during the war interval. The state fair held in September, 1864, was the first since the beginning of war times, which was pronounced creditable to the state considering that Wisconsin had sent 50,000 of her sons to the field to defend the government.

During the war when husbandry was necessarily retarded by the withdrawal from the farms of so large a proportion of working men the women did an immense amount of manual labor. In the country districts especially, the girls of the family ploughed and sowed, churned and picked berries, made their own shoes when they had any, and rode the old horse bareback to the nearest mill with the grain harvested by their own hands to be made into flour.

The first effective organization for the promotion of dairying in the state was in February, 1872, when on the 15th of that month seven good men and true, headed by W. D. Hoard organized the Wisconsin Dairymen's Association. The necessity as stated by Mr. Hoard for such an organization was the low condition of the market, the unmarketable character of the principal portion of our cheese and the lack of action on the part of buyers to handle Wisconsin goods. The only market was Chicago, and three car loads would glut that for a week. Western cheese bore about the same relation to that of New York that marsh hay did to early blue grass or timothy.

There were at that time in Brown county no cheese factories, no creameries,

no skimming stations; there are now throughout the county, according to Report of 1910, forty-eight cheese factories, eighteen creameries, and one skimming station: Giese, Big Suamico; Denmark, Denmark; Denmark Combine, Denmark; Maple Park, Denmark, R. D. 1; Buckman, Denmark, R. D. 1; Fontenoy, Denmark, R. D. 2; Hevel, Denmark, R. D. 2; Langes Corner, Denmark, R. D. 2; Rockland Cream & Butter Company, De Pere; Smith, No. 2, De Pere, R. D. 1; Planert, De Pere, R. D. 1; Cronk, De Pere, R. D. 1; Meyers, De Pere, R. D. 2; Ledgeville Cooperation Creamery Company, De Pere, R. D. 2; Shirley, De Pere, R. D. 3; H. W. Busse, Flintville; Poland, Green Bay, R. D. 3; Ellis Creek, Green Bay, R. D. 3; Pine Grove, Green Bay, R. D. 3; Maternowski, Green Bay, R. D. 5; Pittsfield Cooperative, Green Bay, R. D. 8; Thymm, Green Bay, R. D. 8; Greenleaf, Greenleaf; Holzschuh, Greenleaf, R. D. 1; East Holland, Greenleaf, R. D. 2; Krieser, Greenleaf, R. D. 2; East Wrightstown, Greenleaf, R. D. 3; Schroeder, Greenleaf, R. D. 3; Butter & Cream Factory, Kaukauna; Red Clover, Kaukauna; Saenger, Lark; Smith, Lark, R. D. 1; Morrison, Morrison; Kratz, New Franken, R. D. 2; Roznowski, New Franken, R. D. 2; Elm Dale, Pulaski; Pittsfield, Pulaski, R. D. 2; Sonnabend, Reedsville, R. D. 1; Brown Cream & Butter Company, Seymour, R. D. 37; Natske, Wayside, R. D. 1; Wayside, Wayside; S. Lawrence Cream & Butter Company, West De Pere, R. D. 1.

Quite a number of these establishment plants combine creameries with the cheese factory: Wequiock, Green Bay, R. D. 1; Wrightstown, Wrightstown; E. R. V. Creamery Company, De Pere, R. D. 1; West De Pere, West De Pere; Fox River V. Creamery Company, West De Pere, R. D. 1; Howard Cooperative Company, Green Bay, R. D. 9; Oneida, Oneida; Bellevue, Green Bay, R. D. 4; Anderson & Wendrick, Green Bay; G. B. Pure Milk Company, Green Bay; Summit Creamery Company, Green Bay, R. D. 2; New Century Cooperative, New Franken; Pulaski Combination Cheese & Butter Company, Pulaski; Rockland Combination Cheese & Butter Company, West De Pere; Wisconsin Butter & Cheese Company, Wrightstown; South Lawrence Butter & Cheese Company, Wrightstown; Greenleaf Combination Cheese & Butter Company, Greenleaf.

Skimming stations—New Century Cooperative, New Franken.

In the beginning of the dairy industry in Wisconsin dairymen merely followed the practices of their fathers and grandfathers without concerning themselves about reasons. They had little, if any, scientific knowledge and small incentive to improve their methods. The establishment of an experiment station and a great state dairy school has more than anything else tended to raise the standard of production. The school is planned upon the theory that it should be an object lesson for students, and a model for the cheese factories and creameries of the state. The scrupulous cleanliness of the apparatus, the floors, the windows, the ceilings, the walls, the receiving room, the brightness and cleanliness of the cans used by patrons, the fresh clean and wholesome milk product received for manufacture into butter, the exact weighing and testing of the milk or cream, the strictly high class fresh quality of product always supplied to the market are models for the creameries and cheese factories of the state.

The annual inspection made by the state is also a constant spur to greater excellence. A careful examination is made of the sanitary conditions of the various plants and a fine imposed for disregard of rules.

That Brown county dairy products have a good standing is shown by the fact that the last report of the state dairy inspector brought to light the fact that there was but one conviction in the whole of Brown county for transporting cream in rusty unclean cans, four for selling adulterated cream, and four cheese factories considered in an unsanitary condition.

Not only do the agricultural college and dairy school teach new knowledge and the application of the same, but the various associations which call together practical farmers from all parts of the state are tremendous enlighteners and the discussions brought about by contact with other minds intent on the same questions of how to improve methods and bring about best results are an inspiration to those who attend. The Farmers' Institutes have for the past twenty-five years been a power in agricultural education.

Growing out of the Wisconsin's Dairymen's Association are the Wisconsin Buttermakers' Association, the Wisconsin Cheesemakers' Association, and the Southern Wisconsin Cheesemakers' Association, whose effects have been specialized along the line of improving the skill of the cheesemakers and buttermakers of the state, and of improving the quality of cheese factory and creamery products.

In Brown county, 1910, the cheese factory statistics show the number of pounds of milk received for the year, 44,246,379; number of pounds of cheese produced, 4,205,040; amount received for cheese sold, \$605,445.84; number of patrons, 1,549; number of cows, 14,266.

In creameries the number of pounds of butter made in 1910 was 1,427,730; amount paid in for butter, \$396,525.91; other creamery products, \$58,918.54, making a total of \$445,444.45; number of patrons, 1,115; number of cows, 9,490.

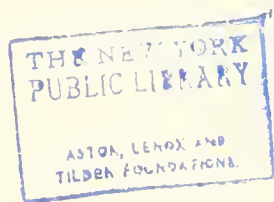
Comparing these statistics with those of 1895 we find that the total amount of cheese produced in that year in Brown county was 959,314 pounds, showing an increase in the intervening fifteen years of 3,305,726 pounds.

When a certain kind of cheese has been found successful in one locality it is deemed best not to change, for experience has proved that climatic conditions, soil and grass are all favorable to its manufacture. The "American" or Cheddar type of cheese is manufactured to a greater or less extent in all parts of the state, but the eastern or lake tier of counties of which Brown forms a part leads in the production of fancy Cheddar cheese, so far as quantity is concerned. Every factory in Brown county manufactures American Cheddar cheese, and that a ready market is found and a high price paid for all turned out is sufficient proof of its excellence. The recognized and varied tastes of cheese consumers call for many different characters of cheese; but the cheese that commands the highest price in the markets of today is one of a clean nutty flavor, flinty and close in texture, with a firm, meaty, solid, rich and buttery body. Cheese of such a character will keep a long time in prime condition, and if cured under the most favorable temperatures will improve in quality up to twelve or more months.

Great as has been the growth of manufacture, trade and transportation in Brown county, during recent years, none has prospered or afforded more substantial returns than the cheese and creamery business. There is none more important for on its sanitary management depends the health of the public at large. Impure milk, ill-made butter, low grade cheese, all are a menace to the

health of the community, and Brown county may be congratulated on her fine record in this important and rapidly increasing industry.

(References for Chapter XX: Sheahan, "The Great Conflagration;" Tilton, Great Fires of 1871 in Wisconsin; Green Bay Advocate, 1871; D. D. Kellogg, Pasadena, Cal.; B. F. Smith, De Pere; Dairy Interests; Report of Dairy and Food Commission, 1909-10; Wis. Agricultural Reports; Wis. Hist. Proc., 1911.)



CHAPTER XXI

THE SCHOOLS OF BROWN COUNTY

Andrew J. Vieau, Sr., in his narrative of early times, says that he attended the school taught by St. Jacobs, in 1820. A year or two later "J. B. Dupré, originally of Detroit, and a soldier discharged from the first troops that came here under Colonel John Miller in 1816, became his successor. Dupré's French school was on claim number ten on the west side. My next teacher was Captain Dinwiddie, who taught on the east side of the river at the foot of Judge Morgan L. Martin's present garden." (lot 7, block 68.) A number of other teachers are associated with this little log school, among them Amos Holton who seems to have been a man of some education, and who received from his pupils \$4.00 per capita for a term of twelve weeks.

Soon after a larger schoolhouse was built farther up the river and Daniel Curtis, formerly a captain in the regular army was schoolmaster, he with his family occupying the barracks at Camp Smith. One summer afternoon during a terrific thunderstorm a messenger came hurrying through wind and rain to tell Curtis that his wife had been killed by lightning. General Ellis writes of this Captain Curtis: "It may be remarked that he was more a man of science or what may be called genius than of a military turn. He had been dismissed from the army * * * before his dismissal he had been charged with the oversight of a large fatigue party for the purpose of procuring or making lumber to rebuild Fort Howard.

"Considering himself authorized thereto, he attempted the construction of a government sawmill at the Little Kakalin (Little Rapids), ten miles up the Fox river. Here he attempted to dam the river, and in fact got a work across, but was ordered to other duty before the dam was finished or made secure. It is fair presumption that had he been permitted to finish the work according to his plan, it would have stood the flood—been a success, and the government had a fine sawmill at the Little Kakalin. But because he was withdrawn, the work suspended, unfinished, went out, was a failure, and Captain Curtis censured, courtmartialed and dismissed the service. Captain Curtis married the sister of Major William Whistler."

In 1823 the Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society established a school in the Agency house on Dutchman's Creek (Town of Ashwaubenon), the Rev. Eleazer Williams having charge and Albert G. Ellis conducting the school. Both white and Indian children seem to have attended this school.

Later Ellis taught the garrison school at Fort Howard, and then at the solicitation of the Green Bay citizens opened a school in the Rouse schoolhouse with over eighty scholars. This building was erected by Louis Rouse and stood on the Louis Grignon claim near the present southern limit of Green Bay. About

one-half the pupils paid for tuition, to the remainder the benefit of the school was given gratuitously.

Miss Caroline Russell in 1828 was engaged as teacher by five American families in Shantytown, where a log schoolhouse was built for her accommodation, and four years later Miss Frances Sears presided over the same school; the scholars being little children of both sexes. These two ladies were highly esteemed, and were said to be most excellent teachers; they gave instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar and geography. Ability to teach the last two studies was considered a high attainment, for up to that time the only requisite in a pedagogue was sufficient learning to "read, write and cipher to the rule of three."

Both the Protestant Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches engaged in the work of education. During the summer of 1826, Friar Fauvel was sent by the Vicar General Gabriel Richard to succeed Father Badin; the citizens put up a schoolhouse for him and for awhile he continued in great favor but charges were made against him, he was deposed and removed from charge. At first the people of his communion stood by him, but becoming disgusted with him, finally revolted and the school was closed. As he still refused to give up the property, a suit was brought to obtain possession, Morgan L. Martin conducting the prosecution; the case was tried before N. G. Bean, and a verdict given for the plaintiff.

The attempt made by the Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society to gather in the little aborigines had from various causes proved a failure, but in 1828 the society sent the Rev. Richard F. Cadle to take charge of the Green Bay mission, who obtained possession of a building in Shantytown known as the officers' quarters of the Camp Smith stockade. Notice was given in November of that year, that the school would open. A. G. Ellis aided in its organization. For some weeks it numbered just one scholar, but the pupils gradually increased in number, and soon the entire confidence of the people was secured.

Possession was obtained from government of a vacant strip of land, about two and a quarter arpents wide, and running back one and a quarter miles to Devil river. This strip had been claimed by Judge Porlier, but was not confirmed to him by the United States commissioners. It was a beautiful site, on high ground overlooking Fox river at its broadest stretch, and is included today in the town of Allouez; on it buildings were erected, at a cost of \$9,000, and in a year and a half, there were nearly two hundred children enrolled and in attendance. Those of pure Indian blood were boarded and clothed as well as instructed free of expense; the half castes paid a small or large proportion of the regular price for board and tuition, according to their means. The charge was \$30 annually for boarders, and \$2 quarterly for tuition alone. To quote from A. G. Ellis, "the expense account was enormously large, and funds did not come to meet it as they were needed, nor did the results meet expectations, for only a small proportion of the children were natives who could not be induced to attend." Solomon Juneau of Milwaukee when petitioned to use his influence in obtaining scholars wrote: "As to the little savages whom you ask about for Mr. Cadle, I have spoken to several and they tell me with great satisfaction that they are much happier in their present situation than in learning geography."

A charge of cruelty was brought against an under teacher of the institution for punishing severely two boys who had been guilty of a serious misdemeanor, and Mr. Cadle sensitively appreciative of the criticism that might include him as head of the institution, resigned after four years of almost insupportable labor and anxiety. In 1842 it was decided by the board of missions to discontinue it as a mission school.

A petition was presented at the special session of the legislative council of Michigan in which it was set forth that:

"Whereas the Foreign and Domestic Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States of America heretofore established a Mission School at Green Bay in the County of Brown and Territory of Wisconsin, for the education of Indian children, and in the establishment and prosecution of said Mission School the said Society has erected extensive buildings, and two school houses at great expense, which said mission and schools are now in active and successful operation * * * and whereas the wise policy of the United States in colonizing the Indians will in time remove them from this vicinity, and suspend the operations of this society, it is proposed to give to the citizens of Wisconsin, and others, the benefits and privileges of the said institution for the purpose of establishing a Seminary of Learning.

"Therefore be it enacted by the Council and House of Representatives that there be erected and established * * * a college for the purpose of educating youth, the style, name and title of which shall be, the Wisconsin University of Green Bay."

The university did not attract patronage sufficient to meet expenses, and about the year 1842 was closed.

On May 1, 1831, the zealous missionary Rev. Samuel Mazzuchelli came to Menomineeville, which was his headquarters during the six months following. A month later subscriptions were solicited for an Indian school, to be in connection with the church then being built. The subscription reads: "Considering the advantages of a Roman Catholic Indian free school at Green Bay, in favour of that portion of our fellow Beings in the settlement.

"And considering Mrs. Dousman well qualified to conduct such a school and to instruct our Indian youth in the necessary branches of civilized and domestic life we the subscribers in order to enable and encourage said Mrs. Dousman to devote her time and labors to the above said laudable purpose, hereby bind ourselves (and) our heirs to pay said Mrs. Dousman during one year from this date every three months quarterly the Sums in cash or produce annexed to our respective names.

"Witness our Signatures in presence of the Bearer:

"Green Bay, June 19, 1831."

A list of names follows. Soon afterward the school was opened with Mrs. Rosalie Dousman as superior and chief teacher, and Miss Elizabeth Grignon as assistant. All poor Indians were to be admitted gratuitously for all instructions; others on moderate terms. Of the receipts after deducting the expenses of the school Mrs. Dousman was to receive two-thirds, Miss Grignon the remainder.

This school was later closed "for weighty reasons that is Too little Compensation" as one of the parishioners writes in 1836. In the meantime a flourishing

convent school was conducted for two years by two sisters of the order of Santa Clara, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mazzuchelli.

In 1832, a school was started in De Pere, of which no particulars are recorded. In Navarino in 1833, a frame building was erected by Daniel Whitney on the south side of Cherry street between Washington and Adams. The first teacher was William White, one of several brothers, who came to Green Bay at an early day. Many names of citizens who afterward became prominent in the town, are found in the list of teachers in this school as time went on. The "Yellow Schoolhouse" as it was designated served for a public hall as well; many town meetings were held there. In an issue of the Advocate, 1847, a meeting of citizens irrespective of party was called at the Yellow Schoolhouse, to consider the first constitution of the new state, which was about to be submitted to a vote of the people. The following notice taken from the Wisconsin Democrat, an early newspaper will show how the school curriculum in Brown county had widened from the simple teaching of fundamentals of a few years previous.

SCHOOL

The subscriber having taken the building heretofore occupied for an office by James D. Doty Esquire, opened a school on Wednesday, the 23d ult, in which he proposes to teach the following branches, viz: Reading, Orthography, Writing, Geography, Astronomy, Arithmetic (on the inductive plan), English grammar, Latin and some of the higher branches of Mathematics.

The subscriber having had a number of years' experience in teaching the above mentioned branches, flatters himself that he possesses the happy faculty of communicating instruction to youth in such a manner as to give general satisfaction to all who may place their children under his charge for instruction.

A quarter will continue during 12 weeks abating half the Saturdays. No deduction will be made for irregularity in attending school, or for scholars leaving school before the close of the quarter unless on account of ill health.

The terms of tuition will be as follows, viz: For Reading, Orthography and Writing, a quarter, per scholar, \$6; Geography, Astronomy and English grammar, \$7; the higher branches, \$8.

NORTON BASSETT

Green Bay, December 8, 1836.

Sometime during the thirties a school was held in the town hall which then stood facing St. John's park and between Jefferson and Madison streets. Later this hall was removed to the corner of Adams and Doty streets and was used as the courthouse, the upper story being repeatedly rented for a school.

Up to this time the various schools had been supported by private subscription. The foreign born colonists who had emigrated to Wisconsin and made settlements within the limits of Brown county depended for schooling as did Green Bay at an early day on the instruction received from the resident priest or an assistant.

As soon, however, as towns were organized, a schoolhouse was built and effort made to maintain schools where ordinary instruction should be given in

the English language, and which should be supported by taxation. Town meetings were usually held in these schoolhouses.

School libraries authorized by state law were at first selected by the town clerk of each township. Now the county superintendent has this branch in charge.

The ample provision made by congress in 1785, for a school fund, in setting apart for that purpose the sixteenth section in each township and a further large grant of lands to the territory at large in later years did not materially assist Brown county with its sparse population and acres of unoccupied land, that could be had for a nominal price. During territorial days in Wisconsin this sixteenth section could only be leased and the income applied for school purposes, which as may readily be seen would insure a very small revenue for the support of common schools, and conditions throughout the state were much the same. One of the first resolutions introduced in the convention at Belmont in 1836, referred to the report of a bill to prohibit persons from trespassing on the school lands of this territory by cutting and destroying timber. A memorial to Congress was adopted at the same session requesting that the sale of school sections in each township be authorized and the money arising be appropriated toward creating a fund for the support of public schools. On November 7, 1837, a bill was passed regulating the sale of public lands, and for organizing, regulating and perfecting common schools.

Not only, however was there difficulty in disposing of the lands at their appraised value but the sales were badly mismanaged, speculating in lands was very common and personal profit became sometimes the first consideration with officials conducting the transaction. An instance is recorded in Brown county of a whole section being sold on partial payments and afterward a patent for the same tract issued to the chief clerk of the office without the payment of a dollar at one shilling an acre, although it was appraised at from ten to twelve shillings.

The district system adopted from the laws of Michigan with some modifications was in force in Wisconsin until it became a state. Funds were raised by taxation and by private subscription, and were usually inadequate with the result of poor schools, poor teachers, short terms and lack of books. Sanitary conditions were such as would not be tolerated by the hygienic regimen of the present day. Complaints were frequent and loud in early years of the wretched houses without proper seats, blackboards, ventilation or outhouses.

On September 24, 1846, the Green Bay Advocate printed the following communication from Samuel Ryan, junior. "At a meeting of the board of school commissioners of and for the town of Green Bay a resolution was passed appointing the undersigned to make an abstract in relation to school districts and the duties of trustees and other officers." The abstract set forth that at the meeting to be held annually on the first Monday in October a moderator should be chosen to preside, a district clerk, three trustees and a collector were to be elected. The duties of the trustees were to make a list of the persons taxable in the district, and of taxable property, annexing to such list a warrant to the collector of the district for the collection of such taxes and five per cent for his fees within sixty days. The annual meeting could vote to build a school-house or to rent, purchase or repair, provided the tax so voted did not exceed the

sum of \$200. Whenever there was a deficiency of money to pay the teacher after a return of the warrant on the rates bill the district might on vote of two thirds of the qualified electors assess and collect a tax on actual residents. All persons sending children must furnish their just proportion of fuel unless considered by the trustees as indigent.

Among the township officers elected for the town of Depere April 6, 1847, are three school commissioners, William Dickenson, George Boyd, John W. Cotton. Of the schools over which they had control there is no record, but on June 1, 1849, a public school was held in the courthouse taught by a young girl of sixteen years, Miss Marietta Johnson. Either on account of the youth and inexperience of the preceptress or from lack of funds two terms were the extent in duration of this school. In 1850 however, the work was assumed by William Field a young man from the east of great intelligence, good looking, agreeable and finely educated as well. Under him the school prospered and since that time a public school has been continuously maintained. In 1852 the village built a schoolhouse on the site now occupied by the Holland Catholic church, Field still being school master. In that year also New Franken advertises in the Advocate for a teacher.

In 1853-4 high hopes were entertained that De Pere would soon become a metropolis and the Massachusetts Educational Society (Presbyterian) at the suggestion of the Rev. L. C. Spafford pastor of the Presbyterian church sent Miss Fannie Plumstead and her sister to open a private school which was to be the nucleus of a young ladies' seminary. In connection with the school was a fine library for the use of the pupils. Miss Plumstead was a cultivated woman and fine instructor, but after teaching for three years she married leaving her sister to continue the academy alone. Subsequently the enterprise was given up.

The present system of schools was instituted in 1857, and in 1872 the schools were graded by I. A. Sabin.

In Green Bay the first school tax was levied in 1840, and a public school opened, John F. Lessey, David Ward and Henry Sholes commissioners. The school was held in the town hall on the southeast corner of Adams and Doty streets and was taught by W. H. Warren, the scholars being boys of all ages. Across Doty street on the corner now occupied by the county jail was a school for girls of which a Miss Waters was principal. Only the common branches were taught and the furnishings and apparatus were of the rudest character. Funds from taxation were evidently very irregularly received for in 1847 we find Mr. Warren as principal of the Green Bay Academy advertising for pupils and giving terms of tuition. It was not until 1850 that a public school became firmly established. In that year Mr. Gildersleeve, a fine teacher was engaged, with two assistants. "A paragraph has been going the rounds of the press," says the Advocate of November 16, 1854, "in substance that Green Bay has upwards of twenty grog shops and not one public school. It seemed so absurd at the time of its appearance that we did not dignify it by a contradiction. * * * The sudden and illegal withdrawal by the state authorities of the school fund belonging to this county caused a momentary embarrassment in our free school arrangements, and it is very possible that this class of schools was temporarily suspended, until steps could be taken to go on with them independent of the aid of the public fund.



HOMESTEAD OF CAPT. JOHN COTTON, TOWN OF ALLOUEZ
 PARSONAGE OF REV. JEREMIAH PORTER HOUSE BUILT BY JUDGE LAW, 1836
 JUDGE JOHN LAW'S GARDEN



"There has been before that time and is now no lack of free public schools in Green Bay of the best class. We can recollect of no time since our residence here when there have been less than two schools and oftener more. At this moment there are either all in operation or about to go into operation immediately five schools, four of them we believe free. In the store building opposite the Astor House Miss Morrow has one; in the large school building next to the courthouse, Miss U. Grignon, Miss Grace Howe and Miss Torry have or are about opening three others. Besides these, is the excellent one, private we believe, kept by Miss Crosby at her residence. Over the river there is one free school well kept and we are not certain but there are more." The same issue of the newspaper advertised a sale of forfeited school lands.

The action of the state referred to in the preceding quotation was the refusal to Brown county of her portion of public money intended for the support of schools because of arrears in taxes to the state. The apportionment in 1853 was \$1,113.12, but upon application to the state treasurer for the payment of this sum, information was received that the county was in arrears for state taxes to a larger amount than the allotment, and by a law enacted at a previous session of the legislature the county's school fund had been applied to this deficiency.

The report of a committee appointed to look into the right or wrong of this refusal closes with the forceful declaration that the legislators "must not have had the fear of God before their eyes, but were moved and instigated by the devil, and have sunk themselves so deep in infamy that the hand of resurrection can not reach them," if contrary to the laws and constitution of the state they had retained any school money or applied it to any purpose other than the one for which it was intended. The legislature was condemned by public opinion for withholding this money on account of arrearage in state tax to the detriment of towns where the tax had been promptly paid.

Even after this date short terms were often necessary for lack of money. In September, 1856, a schoolhouse, the first owned by the city, was built of cream brick, forty by sixty feet, with four separate apartments. This was in the south ward and across the park from the Moravian church which had just been finished and was for years known as the "old brick." It has been remodeled and enlarged several times, was used as the high school before the present east high school was erected and is now the Sale school. The site was donated by the Astor estate.

The principal who first presided over it was Theron K. Bixby, who made an attempt to grade the school. Only the common English branches were taught; special attention was given to the writing of compositions and weekly rhetorical exercises. The art of memorizing was practiced to a great extreme, geography, history, rules of arithmetic and grammar all taught through rhyming versions or other forms committed to memory. The multiplication table was set to music and sung with a chorus to the tune of Yankee Doodle, and a list of the state capitals was given in the same manner. The building was capable of accommodating two hundred pupils, but before the year was over the enrollment far exceeded that number.

The legislature of 1860 passed a bill establishing the office of county superintendent of schools who should examine and license teachers and inspect schools.

The first election in Brown county came off in November, 1861, and on September 7th of that year, the Bay City Press makes trenchant comment thus: "There is to be elected at the November elections an officer under an act of last winter to the most important and most thankless office in the gift of the people—superintendent of our county schools. He must be a man of superior attainments and no humbug about it. He must know his duties and be equal to them. His acquirements must not only be solid and genuine, but he must have energy and firmness and ingenuity to render them practical. A county treasurer may be an ass or an idiot, and a judicious selection of a deputy may keep his accounts justly and render his exhibits intelligibly. But here imposture cannot be practiced or even attempted with impunity. The pay is ridiculously inadequate but the public will not be content with anything less than the very best talent, and none other need offer. Let us look round for a proper candidate."

In 1860, Henry J. Furber, a youthful pedagogue from Maine, became principal of the Green Bay schools. He raised the grade of the schools, added to the course of study Latin and advanced mathematics and proved a most efficient teacher.

In 1866 the charter of Green Bay was changed and the schools passed under the control of a board of education, consisting of a member from each city ward elected by the common council and a city superintendent chosen by the board of education. L. W. Briggs of Racine became principal of the schools in 1871, and they were thoroughly reorganized by him. He established nine grades and a high school and the present organization of schools is largely due to him.

With the opening of the year 1881 under J. C. Crawford, principal, the school entered upon a new existence. The standing of the school was materially raised to new methods. The course of study was raised and extended, newer methods were introduced. In 1882 official notice was received that the state university had placed the school upon its accredited list for the general science and modern classical courses. In 1885, J. C. Crawford became superintendent as well as principal. He resigned both offices in 1888, and Mrs. Cornelia B. Field was chosen superintendent, the first woman to hold that office in Green Bay.

At the present time we have in the county four high schools, two in Green Bay and two in De Pere, on the east and west sides of the river.

The present county superintendent, Joseph Novitski is a live energetic man, having the advancement of the schools at heart and judicious in the use of methods to that end. Within the past year or two many changes and improvements have been made throughout the county in health condition requirements of rural schools. New schoolhouses are going up all over the county and one of the requirements in construction is consideration for the health, eyesight and comfort of the scholars. A school bulletin is issued bi-monthly by Mr. Novitski in place of the circulars and notices sent out at irregular intervals and these bulletins contain all suggestions and information to which the attention of the teachers should be called.

The report of superintendent Novitski for the past year states that there are now in this county fifteen state graded schools, fourteen are two department or what is known as second class state graded schools, receiving annual aid from the state of \$200. One is a three department or first class and receives annually \$300. Sixty one room schools have complied with the requirements of first

class rural schools and each receives state aid of \$50, making a total of \$3,000 each year. To make the work more practical and interesting for pupils, a corn growing contest was instituted, also work with the Babcock milk tester. One thousand entries were made by pupils in the county fair and \$100 in prizes received.

As it has been placed on the list of accredited-list Wisconsin schools, the Academy of St. Joseph should be mentioned among schools of the same standing. In 1897, at the request of Rt. Rev. Bishop Messmer the Sisters of St. Joseph from Carondelet, Missouri, opened an academy for girls, in this city. It was in the frame building which stood on the corner of Milwaukee and Madison streets where the new St. John's church has been placed. Many stories are told of this old house, which was in use in the pioneer days of early Wisconsin. From this small beginning has grown the flourishing and finely equipped school which in 1909-10 numbered one hundred and fifteen pupils, and has now a larger enrollment.

In 1892, having outgrown its small quarters, the property known as the Kellogg place on Monroe avenue, was purchased and an addition to the residence begun. In 1909, Sister Irene, who had been with the school from its beginning, was placed in charge as Mother Superior. Under her efficient management several branches of study have been added and in 1910, a large brick building was erected and fully equipped with modern appliances.

Previous to 1862 the schools of Brown county were under a sort of township form of supervision, a superintendent being chosen from among the best educated of the settlers; sometimes the person elected had the advantage of a college education, while others had but a limited knowledge of the "three R's." and a slight acquaintance with the English language, seeing no reason for its inflections or grammatical construction.

The teacher applying for a school might be fourteen or forty; he secured it, provided he passed the not too rigid examination, (and had a friend on the board); arithmetic, a problem in long division and probably a catch question in the "Rule of Three;" spelling Europe, biscuit, phthisic, etc.; reading from anything at hand, Gulliver's Travels, Robinson Crusoe, or Pilgrim's Progress, as the case may be; grammar, name parts of speech in a simple sentence. These with the applicant's signature, and a recommendation for the moral character may be considered a very thorough test in the days of town superintendents in Brown county. Knowing his limitations, the superintendent sometimes apologized to the college bred applicant (who sought to replenish his purse by teaching a term or two in the district school, before entering his chosen profession) for presuming to test his scholarship.

With the election of autumn, 1861, dawned a new era in the educational life of Wisconsin, as the county superintendents of schools were then elected. Brown county was most fortunate in choosing for its leader in educational affairs a gentleman and a scholar; courteous, affable, sympathetic, thoroughly versed in the classics, he was also a great mathematician, his favorite occupation being that of a civil engineer. J. Kip Anderson was the first and greatest of Brown county's school superintendents.

Edward Hicks succeeded Mr. Anderson, occupying the position until 1866, when Oscar Gray, of Fort Howard (now a part of Green Bay), was elected.

Mr. Hicks and Mr. Gray had other business interests, the superintendent's salary being below the "living wage." They did what they could under the circumstances for the uplift of the schools. They were able, manly men, who knew the great disadvantage under which teachers labored and were always ready with words of sound advice and rare kindness to the young and unexperienced teacher who sought their support and judgment.

P. H. Lynch occupied the position of county superintendent from 1872 to 1872. He was succeeded by Theron Sedwick, a rising young lawyer of West De Pere, who did not seek reelection.

In the fall of 1877 Brown county honored itself by electing a woman to the office of county superintendent, Minnie H. Kelleher. Miss Kelleher, coming from the teachers' ranks, knew where to find weakness in the line and put forth sturdy efforts to strengthen it; she was ably aided by the teachers of the county, including those of De Pere and Green Bay. The county was divided into association districts in which were held teachers' meetings, to discuss how and what to teach. Miss Kelleher held the office two terms, then returned to, the more congenial life of teaching. Her work was fearlessly and faithfully discharged, and was highly appreciated by the men and women of sound principles throughout the state.

George F. Steele succeeded Miss Kelleher; he was followed by John Kittell, who in turn was succeeded by Daniel Rice, three of Brown county's native sons, who might be said to have used the office as a stepping stone to greater preferment, while each discharged his duty to the best of his ability.

Later John B. Fournier became superintendent, followed by J. F. Novitski. (References for Chapter XXI: Wis. Hist. Coll. Vol. 1; *Ibid* Vol. 14; *Ibid* Vol. 7; French, History of Brown County; MS. Records of Christ Church Parish; MS. Letters; Columbian History of Education; Mrs. Curtis R. Merrill; Green Bay Advocate and Bay City Press.)

CHAPTER XXII

CHURCHES OF BROWN COUNTY

The history of the churches of Brown county is indicative of the varied elements that compose its population. French missionaries in early times made the beginning for Roman Catholicism, and although there was an interim when no service was held hereabout, yet the French settlers remained staunch adherents of that faith. Services of prayer and hymn singing were held in the homes, notably that of Madame Langevin and her mother, Madame Langlade. With the coming of the American troops and consequent influx of settlers from the east and south, various forms of Protestant worship were inaugurated, all however, Catholics and Protestants, working together for the higher life of the community.

The wave of immigration from foreign countries beginning with 1840, brought in a large proportion of Roman Catholics so that in many of the country towns, that is the prevailing form of worship. The certificate of baptism performed by Rev. Samuel Peters of the Church of England, is the only record that religious rites were performed in the early part of the nineteenth century in the Green Bay region.

In 1823, Green Bay was first visited by Father Gabriel Richard of Detroit, vicar-general of the northwest diocese, an untiring worker in the missionary field. He made arrangements for the erection of a church in Shantytown, and it is said that ground was broken at that time for a log structure, but it was not until two years later, in 1825, when the venerable Father Badin was placed in charge that definite arrangements for building in Green Bay were made. A petition was circulated which reads:

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR FATHER BADIN

"To the subscribers: Dear citizens, we implore your assistance and leave it to your generosity to furnish the funds for Mr. Badin, your pastor, who is now about to depart for Detroit, June 27, 1825."

The quaint document goes on to say that the subscription list "will be presented and collected by a respectable citizen of the place, to the honorable officers, private soldiers, and other persons whatever at Green Bay, towards imploring their charitable assistance for both the building of the Catholic church and the clergyman thereof." The church was completed to the extent of occupancy that same year, the funds being placed in the hands of Joseph Jourdain on the 11th day of July, 1825. It stood near the corner of Adams and Mason streets. The officers who gave to the good cause were Major William Whistler, Lieutenant Henry H. Loring and Adjutant Dean, and of the private soldiers, three.

Father Badin made semi-annual visits of two weeks each, and at that time

would assemble his congregation and instruct them in the formulas of their religion. Young and old met together and seated on the floor in ranks from ten to fifteen deep, would repeat after the good priest creed, catechism, or scripture lesson; he meanwhile walking up and down between the rows and keeping a sharp lookout for delinquents in respect to attention. This building was never entirely completed, but burned to the ground five years later through the carelessness of Father Fauvel, the priest who succeeded Father Badin in 1826. Fauvel roomed in a part of the church building, and after its destruction the people built him a schoolhouse, "four or five rods east of the former church site." Fathers Badin and Mazzuchelli would not recognize Fauvel as a priest and warned the people "not to employ him at burials and if he dared to preach to go out and leave him alone."

Soon after Father Mazzuchelli assumed charge the delinquent was obliged to leave. In the fall of 1828, the Rev. P. S. Dejean visited the mission. Some time during the year 1830, Bishop Fenwick, of Cincinnati, came to Green Bay, remaining, however, but a few days. In the following year he repeated the visit, staying for three weeks, and at this time he, assisted by the Rev. Samuel Mazzuchelli, who had accompanied him, held a kind of mission, preached several times a day, heard confessions and conferred the holy sacrament of confirmation on about one hundred people. During this visit also the Bishop selected as the site for a church a tract of land in Menomineeville, between the Catholic Cemetery and the lower De Pere road, which still belongs to the Diocese of Green Bay. Contributions for the purpose of carrying out this plan, amounting to \$300 were immediately received and the work was at once begun. This church was the first erected in this region since the mission chapel of St. Francis Xavier had been demolished in 1687. A complete history of its erection is given through the letters and memoranda belonging to Father Mazzuchelli and preserved in the Grignon, Lawe and Porlier papers in the State Historical Society. There is given the subscription list both of money and materials, the largest donations being from the Bishop, \$150, and from Father Mazzuchelli, \$60. Edwin Hart was the builder, a most excellent workman, and responsible for the substantial Episcopal Mission House as well as many other of the well built dwellings of early days.

Father Mazzuchelli was very impatient to see the church completed, and when absent on other duties connected with his Mackinac parish, wrote continually to Louis Grignon or to Judge Porlier in regard to it. On August 12, 1831, he writes that "Mr. Heart" must begin work immediately or forfeit the contract and his interest in the material to be obtained was unflagging. In July of the following year the church neared completion, and there was still the whitewashing of the walls to be done, on which Father Mazzuchelli writes he can save \$20.00, and that he will agree to give Mr. Hart \$12 to cut the window panes with his diamond and set them; otherwise he will buy cotton enough to stretch over the seven windows.

In 1832, two Redemptorists, Fathers Hatcher and Sanderl, took charge of St. John's congregation and remained with the exception of a few short interruptions until 1837, their last entry of baptisms apparently being made in March of that year.

Father Mazzuchelli came again in 1833, bringing with him two sisters of the

order of St. Clara, Sisters Clara and Theresa Bourdaloue, who bought land near to the church where they established a school. Their services were also of the greatest value during the terrible cholera epidemic of 1834.

In that same year came Father Theodore J. Van den Broek who labored zealously in the field until 1838, his mission including not only the settlements at the Bay and Little Chute, but several among the Indians.

In the fall of 1838, probably in October, Father Florimond Bonduel, a Belgian by birth and educated in Belgium, came to Green Bay and assumed the charge of St. John's. He bought from B. F. Salomon and Paul and Joseph Ducharme most of the land in Shantytown, all of which by the way is still in possession of the church. He also seems to have taken very good care of the cemetery, which under his fostering care was greatly beautified and improved. He died after a short illness on December 13, 1861, his remains finding a last resting place in the spot which in life he had nurtured so carefully and well.

In September, 1843, P. Carabin, a German of Loraine, was appointed to succeed Father Bonduel and maintained his post until August, 1847.

During this pastorate the Rev. P. Cahazettis arrived at Green Bay, where after a few days he succumbed to a virulent attack of typhoid fever.

In 1847, the church at Shantytown was burnt through the carelessness of a Mass server. In its place in 1848, a Methodist church was bought, which stood on the site of the present parsonage. This was during the pastorate of the Rev. A. S. Godfert, who succeeded Father Carabin and who stayed until September, 1849. During this period the Rev. Caspaer Rehri, a missionary well known throughout the greater part of Wisconsin, paid regular quarterly visits to this mission, aiding the pastor in various ways. In October, 1849, came the Jesuit Fathers, Anton Anderledy, a Swiss, and afterward general of the order (he died on January 18, 1892), and Joseph Brunner, who stayed until July, 1851, when Father Brunner went to India, where he died.

There exists in the parish of St. John's a little book containing in writing an inventory of all the furniture and utensils in the church from the year 1849, also the gifts made to the church between 1849 and 1862. There also is an inventory made by Father Hoffen, 1865-70, which includes the old silver ostensorium, and Duguenory's crucifix.

In 1872 the church purchased from the Methodists burned and was replaced two years later by one much more commodious, the Rev. A. Crud being pastor. In the winter of 1911 fire destroyed this church also and in its stead on the corner of Madison and Milwaukee streets a costly and substantial structure was erected. The Rev. L. A. Ricklin has been the pastor of St. John's for many years.

Green Bay is the Episcopal see of the large Green Bay diocese, which was established March 3, 1868, and the handsome Cathedral church of St. Francis Xavier stands on the corner of Monroe avenue and Doty street.

When the Rev. P. F. S. Winenger, S. J., held the mission of St. John's church, 1851, the separation of the German element from that parish was seriously considered. The first record of receipts and disbursements and other business matters pertaining to St. Mary's congregation are dated September 20, 1851. This date therefore is accepted as the one upon which the new congregation was organized. Funds were collected and a church completed early in 1854, which was blessed and dedicated by Bishop Henni, of Milwaukee.

On March 3, 1868, Green Bay was elevated to an Episcopal see, of which Rev. Joseph Melcher, of St. Louis, was appointed first bishop. On arriving in Green Bay, Bishop Melcher selected St. Mary's for his pro-cathedral. At his death the Rev. F. X. Krautbauer became bishop, and during his episcopacy the cathedral was finished, and consecrated by him in the presence of the most reverend Archbishop Heiss and four bishops, and a crowded congregation. September 7, 8 and 9, 1893, were made memorable by the visit to Green Bay of the papal delegate, afterward Cardinal Satolli. The reception of his eminence was a grand ovation, and is still remembered as a most notable event.

The present bishop is the Rt. Rev. Joseph J. Fox, who is the son of Paul Fox, one of the most active incorporators of St. Mary's church. Bishop Fox was born and grew up in Green Bay and is much esteemed throughout the county.

St. Patrick's church was built in 1865 by the Irish residents on both sides of the river. It was dedicated on August 15, 1866 by the Very Reverend Father Daems, Father McGinnity being pastor at the time. The present church was built in 1893-94, the Rev. M. J. O'Brien, pastor. Father O'Brien still has charge of the parish.

Sts. Peter and Paul was built by German and Belgian families living in the northeastern portion of the city. A large new church was erected in 1911 under Rev. Martin T. Anderegg, who was appointed to the church in 1893.

In the beginning of the sixties the Hollanders and Flemish who had left St. John's with the German congregation were obliged to leave St. Mary's on account of overcrowding the church, and on February 21, 1864 held a meeting at which a new congregation of forty-seven families was formed. The trustees purchased the old courthouse building, paying for the same \$1,200. Father VerBoort became the pastor. The church was dedicated on August 25, 1867, in honor of St. Willebrord, the first bishop of Utrecht, Holland and apostle of the Netherlands. The congregation increased so rapidly that a much larger church was necessary, and in the summer of 1889 the foundation of the new church was laid. The Rev. P. A. Van Susteren is the present pastor.

The large Polish church, Blessed Virgin of the Angels, with monastery and school in connection, was built in 1904. Rev. A. Wisniewski, O. F. M., is rector.

In 1824 a meeting was held in Menomineeville for the purpose of organizing a Protestant Episcopal church to be known as Christ church, not, however, until September 16, 1829, was the organization of the parish completed, and a copy of the constitution sent to Robert Irwin, Jr., then in Detroit attending as delegate the legislative council, with a petition for a charter. The act incorporating the parish is as follows:

CHRIST CHURCH

Be it enacted by the legislative council of the Territory of Michigan that Richard F. Cadle, as rector, and Daniel Whitney and Albert G. Ellis as wardens, and James D. Doty, William Dickenson, John Lawe, Alexander J. Irwin, John P. Arndt, Samuel W. Beale, Robert Irwin, Jr., and Henry S. Baird, as vestrymen, with their associates and successors be, and they are hereby incorporated and declared a body politic and corporate in deed and in law by the name and style of the "Rector Wardens and Vestrymen of Christ's Church in the township of Green Bay."

Christ church parish and that of Manitowoc were the only church organizations in Wisconsin thus incorporated independent of diocesan jurisdiction.

Richard F. Cadle, who had been appointed in 1827 by the Protestant Episcopal missionary board as superintendent of Green Bay missions, with his sister, Sarah B. Cadle, as assistant, had opened a school in the unoccupied barracks at Camp Smith. John V. Suydam, who came to Green Bay in 1831, was engaged as assistant teacher in the same school; later as district and county surveyor and as occupying many offices of trust in church and county life, Suydam was one of the well known men of Green Bay, where he continued to reside until his death in 1888.

Ill health and many discouragements caused the resignation of Mr. Cadle, and the newly formed vestry who loved and admired him, immediately invited him to become their first pastor, a call which he accepted. It was immediately planned to erect a church on land platted for that purpose in Menomineeville, and in the meantime services were held in the mission house. Thither a detachment of troops marched from Fort Howard each Sunday under the command of a lieutenant, to attend divine service, there being no resident chaplain at the garrison. McCall in his description of the treaty of 1830 says that on one Sunday, Rev. Eleazer Williams, "in flowing white robes" read service at the fort, but this was only an occasional affair, the soldiers being expected to attend regularly after the Christ church parish was erected at Green Bay. While here on the second of July in one of the rooms of the Baird home he baptized two of the Baird children, one, afterward Mrs. James S. Baker, a little over two years old, the other two weeks.

In 1834, Rev. Jackson Kemper, afterward distinguished as first missionary bishop, came to Green Bay, sent by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society to report on the Indian school established in Menomineeville by Rev. Richard Cadle. His journal gives a lively and interesting account of the journey west; his short stay in the village and visit to Oneida. "At three we started for Oneida, say nine miles. Dr. M., in a wagon driven by Neddy and for a companion, Cobus Hill. I mounted on a Green Bay pony, belonging to Adjutant Chapman, an easy racking horse. Two miles of the road had just been opened by the Oneidas the week before. After riding through the woods six miles we came to the settlement—log houses scattered on each side of the road, with perhaps four hundred acres cleared—the crops look promising; at parsonage about sunset. The building had been much improved during the day; a shed had been erected for a kitchen, where several Oneida women prepared the meal; a porch had been placed in front, etc.; the house had two rooms beside a large pantry. * * * I had a good bed on the floor under a window and surrounded with a net, and slept pretty well.

"The church, a log building, is near the parsonage. It has a recess, a chancel, etc., with a vestry room behind, an unfinished gallery in front; we walked there in the evening, and heard several of the congregation practicing music for the next day, with a good and well played bass viol.

"We assembled in church at ten o'clock, the people pressed to it until all seats were occupied, the men on one side and the women on the other. I said a few words from Cobus Hill's reading desk on Lord's supper. What we said

was interpreted sentence by sentence by John Smith. John interpreted boldly but we fear not correctly."

Nothing was done toward building the church in Menomineeville and during the years 1830-35 there was a great exodus of the American residents to Daniel Whitney's newly platted town, Navarino. Services were held in the "Yellow Schoolhouse" on Cherry street, but there was a great desire for a church building, the ever generous Daniel Whitney offered a building site which was accepted and funds solicited for the erection of a church.

In 1838 the corner stone of the new building was laid by Bishop Kemper who had been consecrated in 1835. Bishop Kemper at this time confirmed a class of six persons and also visited Oneida where he laid the corner stone of Hobert church. The late Charles L. Wheelock who came here as a boy in 1832, was present at the ceremony at Green Bay and recalled the boggy condition of the ground about the church foundation. The ground was low and wet, so much so that many stood on planks. Cedar trees and alders grew up to Adams street. Despite these conditions building went on and in 1840 the church was finished and consecrated by Bishop Kemper. It was a small neat structure painted white with green blinds and surrounded by a white picket fence. The pews were square, with a door that closed with a tidy button, accommodating eight persons at one sitting and often more as the children were allowed in case the pew was overcrowded to sit on kneeling benches and hassocks. There was a high pulpit from which the rector in charge delivered his sermon, the small gothic windows were filled with plain window glass, and candles were the only light used for the evening service. One of the younger girls who worshipped in Christ church during the early '40s related not many years ago how the soldiers marched regularly to the morning service under command of the officer of the day, and would take their places in the extreme rear portion of the church. The young lieutenant in command, however, kept up constant communication with the more favored portion of the congregation by means of notes passed to and fro between him and the frivolous girls who sat directly under the preacher's eye. Many love affairs were carried to a happy conclusion through this churchly postal service, and the excitement of writing, reading and safely dispatching these epistles without detection by parents or officiating clergyman, was a joy to last through a lifetime. This historic building burned to the ground on the night of July 3, 1898. The corner stone of the present structure was laid by Bishop Grafton during the pastorate of the Rev. Chas. L. Pullen, who resigned from the parish before the church was completed. In 1900, Rev. Henry S. Foster, rector, it was ready for occupancy; in 1910 mainly through the untiring effort of the Rev. James F. Kieb who succeeded Father Foster, the church debt was liquidated and consecration services held by Rt. Rev. Reginald P. Weller, bishop coadjutor of the diocese. The congregation at the same time celebrated the eightieth anniversary of the inauguration of the parish.

A Presbyterian mission under the direction of Rev. Cutting Marsh was organized in 1832. This mission standing as it did half way on a day's journey up the river was invariably visited by the casual traveller and its hospitality claimed. Marsh was a stern rather uncompromising Calvinist, with small patience in his intercourse with the ungodly, yet made welcome any chance visitor. Denomi-

national lines were more closely adhered to in the '30s than at a later day, and Cutting Marsh held aloof alike from Protestant clergymen of alien faith and Roman Catholic priests. The First Presbyterian church at Green Bay was organized with twelve members in January, 1836. Rev. Cutting Marsh gave assistance in the organization which was effected on a Saturday evening in a small frame house on Adams street near Doty. The public recognition took place in the military hospital at Fort Howard on the afternoon of the following day. Mr. Marsh preached occasionally during the summer; from the first of November Rev. Moses Ordway acted as pastor for six months, and a building on Walnut street near Washington was fitted up for service. Of this building, C. L. Wheelock says that, those first Presbyterian services were held in a carpenter's shop owned by W. W. Matthews on the north side of Walnut street between Washington and Adams.

Rev. Stephen Peet became pastor in October, 1837, and remained for two years. In 1838, the First Presbyterian church was dedicated, the second Protestant church edifice completed in the territory. The Rev. Jeremiah Porter followed Mr. Peet and for eighteen years he and his lovely wife led the people in the way of righteousness.

Green Bay during the '50s was on the line of the "underground railroad" which ran as directly as might be from the southern states to Canada and freedom. The negroes who escaped northward were easily carried by schooner to the English refuge, and the story of a somewhat mysterious and romantic affair which occurred about the year 1855, we are happily able to give in Mrs. Porter's words. She writes: "I am not surprised that you could not learn much in regard to the concealment of the fugitives, for it was secret service before the Lord, which, had we taken counsel of wise men in church and state, could not have been performed. The facts were on this wise: A letter came from Mr. L. Goodell of Stockbridge, that a father and his children had for some time enjoyed refuge in that Indian nation; but pursuers had discovered their resting place, and would find means to reenslave them. Friends had planned to send them by night to Green Bay. Would we receive them, and help them to the steamboat due on the coming Tuesday? Surely we could do that small service without disturbing any conscience, however weak, especially as the captain of the boat was said to be an abolitionist. They would arrive by night, and could be put on board without observation.

"They did arrive at the hour appointed; but at midnight we were awakened by a knock at the window and there stood the poor, trembling father, and three cold, hungry children. Our house was already full, and the boat was not in sight, and they feared that the pursuers were on their track. In a few hours many inquisitive eyes and ears would be open. Mr. Porter said, 'Where can we hide them? In the icehouse? In the side closets of the parsonage?' I asked the God of all wisdom and love and truth to direct, and during the act of prayer a text of the scripture came to mind which suggested the church. 'Yes, that is the place,' Mr. Porter replied, 'The belfry.' They were warmed and fed, and comforted with the assurance that they were among friends, and then Mr. Porter took them to the sanctuary—to the highest place in it. The boat we looked for at early dawn did not come; four long days and anxious nights passed, and the dear man fed and cheered them, and did not faint nor

grow weary. On Saturday the question came up, what effect the Sabbath services might have upon their retirement; indeed, many questions were arising, which were solved by the delightful announcement that the boat was in sight, and already in the harbor. Mr. Porter, Mr. Kimball and others, made arrangement for their departure; and when I opened the church door, the glad father and happy children rushed out, and took their places in a little sailboat which was waiting for them at the shore, and were carried to the steamer Michigan, where Captain Stewart took them into his care, and conveyed them to her Majesty's land of freedom. On landing, the first act of the grateful father was to prostrate himself, kissing the free soil, and giving thanks to the Lord who had brought them out of the house of bondage."

Mrs. Porter says in parenthesis: "There were so many ludicrous incidents connected with the whole affair, that, as I write, I must needs pause and laugh alone.

"A few other items may be of interest. The food was furnished from the families of Mr. Porter, Mr. Roswell Morris, and Mr. Alonzo Kimball. The passage was engaged by Mr. Kimball, and several persons furnished the money. The sailboat was brought by Mr. F. A. Lathrop at about five o'clock on a bright afternoon. Many people were on the dock when the family reached the steamer. Those who saw the man's back at the church, remember distinctly that it was ridged with scars. Two young ladies who chanced to go in at this time, took a notion to climb into the belfry, but were frightened at the sounds, and ran to Mrs. Pelton near by and were told that the fugitives were there, but it must be kept secret. We may smile at these matters now, but when the barbarous fugitive slave law was in force, and the more cruel law of political opinion, it required no little courage to harbor a slave. Possibly some of us would not have dared to do it; but we are all proud today, that our belfry once proved a true sanctuary to the oppressed."

Mrs. Porter adds that one other fugitive was brought to their house on a cold winter's night, but as they could not conceal her, she was committed to Mr. Tank's care.

The foregoing paragraph in which items of interest in regard to the fugitives are given is from a pamphlet written by the Rev. William Crawford ("God's providence for forty years") who was pastor of the church from 1870 to 1880. He was a broadminded man and an influence for culture and right living in the community. When in 1876, the church celebrated its fortieth anniversary Mr. Crawford preached three sermons reviewing the forty years' work which were of great value. In the epoch-making fire of 1881 in Green Bay the old Presbyterian church went up in flame; the bell presented by John Jacob Astor to the congregation fell from the belfry and melted in the ruins. The church was modelled on the lines of a plain New England meeting house with a high gallery opposite the pulpit where the choir sat.

In 1882 the church which stands today on the site of the old parsonage was built. It continued to be called the Presbyterian church until later when during the incumbency of the Rev. J. M. A. Spence the name was changed to the Union Congregational church.



TANK COTTAGE



JEFFERSON STREET, GREEN BAY



OCTAGON HOUSE, PREBLE



OLD LAWTON PLACE

Now Residence of James W. Lyons,
De Pere



NOTICE

The slips of the Presbyterian church will be rented to the highest bidder for each slip for one year on Wednesday, May 7, 1856.

Sale to commence at three o'clock P. M.

F. A. LATHROP,
Clerk Board Trustees.

The Presbyterian church in Brown county is represented by seven congregations: First Presbyterian church and Grace Presbyterian church, Green Bay, the First Presbyterian church of De Pere and church organizations at Preble, Humboldt, Wequiock, and Robinsonville. The total membership is about 800. Grace church, Green Bay, and the Robinsonville church are both French Belgian congregations. Rev. H. W. Kunz, pastor of the First Presbyterian church, Green Bay, had done much to advance the general welfare of the community as well as the work of his own denomination.

The Presbyterian church in De Pere was organized in 1849 by Rev. John Stewart, of Warrentown county, New Jersey. A church was erected in 1854, and was esteemed a most godly congregation by the less peaceful members of that faith in Green Bay. A Congregational church was organized on April 18, 1866. Previously its congregation had worshipped in the Presbyterian edifice. A chapel was built in 1868, and rebuilt in 1875. They now have a comfortable church in West De Pere.

The first Methodist service was conducted at the garrison by Colonel Samuel Ryan. In 1832 the New York conference sent as missionary to the district about Green Bay the Rev. J. C. Clark, who on his arrival preached at the fort to both soldiers and citizens and also formed the first class consisting of Samuel Ryan, class leader, and three other members, one of whom was Mrs. George M. Brooke, wife of the commandant. In 1834, Rev. George White was appointed to the mission and the following description is given of the church during his pastorate: "In 1836 the writer passed through Green Bay enroute for St. Louis, and remained two weeks in the small hamlet. Sunday services were no longer held in the Fort Howard block house as in former years but were continued in a little yellow wooden schoolhouse just in rear of what is now the Citizen Bank building, where a fraternal arrangement existed between two rival sects.

"The Protestant Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal ministers took turn about in the services, the one officiating in morning, the other in evening, and vice versa; the two clergymen, Rev. Richard Cadle, a close student, very shy in general society and a thorough churchman, and Rev. George White, the Methodist, also retiring and reserved in manner, yet both so permeated with a love for humanity and a single eye to their high calling in Christ that no antagonism seemed to mar the sacred services. The coalition was temporary only waiting the completion of their denominational churches.

"The stronghold of Methodism still lay on the Fort Howard side of the river, the garrison held a number of faithful communicants while outside its pickets the delegation was solid for Wesley and his adherents. A few rods from the river shore on a slightly rising plateau were the government quarters of families outside the fort, who yet were attached to the United States army. First in order came the two fine buildings of hospital and surgeon's quarters,

from thence ran along the river shore in straight line a row of modest picturesque cottages, vine covered and flower enameled, wherein resided Col. Samuel Ryan and his excellent wife, both of them head, front, and very foundation of Methodism, the Stoddards, the Hubbards and Col. David Jones, all members save the last named. And thus when the little company of worshippers were transplanted in 1835 to the small wooden schoolhouse on east side of river, it took in quite a notable set in military rank and social prestige.

"The new church was completed in 1836, and when the writer returned from a two weeks' sojourn in St. Louis, in 1837, it had been for some months in use and fully equipped. It was fifty by thirty-five feet in dimensions with no gallery for singers, only raised seats at entrance opposite the pulpit. There were fine voices in the choir here and from Sunday to Sunday for several years, a more than average of intelligent and appreciative audience gathered.

"Of the fault in executive management and church affairs that resulted in bankruptcy of finance and final sale to the Roman Catholic congregation of the beloved church building on the square I have slight knowledge. It proved a most unfortunate episode and brought much depression and discouragement for several years."

The first church built on the property facing Jackson square was completed in 1858. This became unsafe and was torn down when the present modern and convenient edifice was erected.

In 1867 the First Methodist church was divided and residents of Fort Howard formed a separate congregation taking the name of St. Paul's Methodist church. A new church has been built within recent years, a neat, comfortable and suitable structure. The congregation is in a flourishing condition.

In addition to those already named, Green Bay has the German Methodist Episcopal church of which Rev. A. H. Copplin is pastor, and a south side Methodist church, Rev. Eugene Nelson in charge.

The first Methodist organization in De Pere was begun in 1850, and a church built six years thereafter.

Wrightstown also has a Methodist church organized a number of years ago.

During the '50s a number of church organizations were effected. The Moravian church on Jackson square between Madison street and Monroe avenue, was organized in 1851, with a full membership of 200, and was dedicated in 1852. Rev. J. F. Fett was the first pastor and remained with the congregation twelve years. This clergyman taught a parochial school to which a number of the English-speaking residents sent their children in order that they might have the advantage of imbibing the German language in the classes of this excellent instructor. The pretty quaint building has been enlarged but the good proportions are retained.

The West Side Moravian church, Rev. Albert Hauptert in charge, is a progressive congregation, yet thoroughly orthodox. It was organized in 1875.

"June 12, 1851.

"NOTICE:—The Baptists of this place and vicinity will (by permission) hold their meetings in the schoolroom in Mr. Goodell's building opposite the town hall. The Rev. Thomas M. Symonds, Baptist clergyman, recently of Massachusetts, will preach regularly every Sabbath. Services commencing in the

morning at 10:30 o'clock, and in the afternoon at 2 o'clock. Prayer-meeting at 7 in the evening. Sabbath school for the present will meet immediately after morning service."

This was the beginning of the First Baptist church which was removed to Fort Howard in 1854. The first church building was of wood, twenty by forty-four feet, fronting Chestnut street, between Main and Hubbard, and was built in 1873. In 1874 it was moved to form part of a new edifice of veneered brick of which the cost was \$8,000. In recent times it has been much enlarged and a fine assembly room and gymnasium added. The present pastor is Rev. S. G. Phelps.

Wrightstown has a Baptist congregation as well as Methodist, German Lutheran and two Roman Catholic churches.

For several years there was a small congregation of Baptists on the east side but the church has within the past year been sold to the Grace Lutheran congregation.

The following excellent article on the Lutheran churches in Brown county has been written for this work by W. A. Speerschneider:

LUTHERANISM IN BROWN COUNTY

The history of the Evangelical Lutheran church of Brown county, Wisconsin, is quite extensive, since there are nineteen churches of the Lutheran faith and five parochial schools in Brown county. This does not include the Lutheran church organizations that have no church, of which there are three. The churches are not very pretentious, with the exception of the Lutheran church at Wrightstown, which was just completed last year at a cost of \$20,000.

The language used for the most part in the services is the German language, there being only two Norwegian Lutheran churches, and one Danish Lutheran church. The use of the English language in the services and instructions instead of the language of the fathers, has shown itself to be of great value to the younger generation where used, they being instructed in the doctrine of the church in the language they understand, and consequently remain within the church. Although only some of the churches have begun to use the English language, it has brought about wonderful results where used.

The Lutheran church had its beginning in Brown county in Green Bay, when fifty years ago Rev. Reim came directly to Green Bay from Germany; because a Milwaukee Lutheran minister heard of the need of a Lutheran minister at Green Bay. The first organization was effected shortly after Rev. Reim's arrival, at the old courthouse; services were held there for a time, but later they rented a Methodist church in the near neighborhood and shortly afterwards built the First German Lutheran church, which is standing today. It barely escaped being burned in the great fire in 1881.

Rev. Goldamer followed Rev. Reim, and Rev. Upham succeeded Rev. Goldamer. During Rev. Upham's pastorate a Lutheran orphans' home was established at Green Bay, which was moved to a different city later. These first ministers at Green Bay, Rev. L. R. P. Pieper, who started a church at De Pere in 1869, Rev. Burman, Rev. H. Rieke, Rev. P. H. Hollerman, and Rev. F. Proehl, who were at Pittsfield and neighboring places, did a great deal

of missionary work in the early years, out in the surrounding country of Green Bay, Depere, and Pittsfield, holding services at the homes of the farmers, or in the district schoolhouse—usually a little log cabin—where there was one. Where a minister's whole time was badly needed a minister would be called and in that way the many different Lutheran churches were established. The above-named ministers of Green Bay made regular trips every Sunday afternoon to Bay Settlement, where services were held at the Speerschneider home. No matter what kind of weather and with nothing of a road, the minister would go. I know the above-mentioned Rev. F. Proehl to have had seven preaching places at one time. This will give an idea of the extent of the work of some of the missionaries. I will mention some of the fruits of their labors. There are churches at the following places: West De Pere, Wrightstown, Greenleaf, Morristown, Wayside, Denmark, Eaton, Ashwaubenon, Luxemburg, Pine Grove, Shirley, Pittsfield, two at Kaukauna; three congregations hold services at one church at Fontenoy, a German, a Danish and a German and English congregation. There are four Lutheran churches at Green Bay, two German congregations, the First German Lutheran church, Rev. J. Siegrist; St. Paul's Lutheran church, Rev. Zich; a Norwegian Lutheran church, Rev. Bongsto, and a German and English Lutheran congregation or Grace Lutheran church. Grace Lutheran church is the youngest congregation in Green Bay, but in spite of its youth it has already attained the strength of a man. Organized on the 18th day of December, 1908, with eighteen communicant members, it has grown so that it numbers about three hundred today. For years a number of Lutherans in Green Bay felt the need of English services and when upon the request of a local Lutheran pastor the Mission Board of the Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio sent an English-speaking minister to Green Bay they were ready to encourage and support him in his work. Rev. Kuhlman, of Oshkosh, was the man who ministered to the spiritual needs of these people both in public services and in private pastoral work. When the work in Green Bay, which he carried on in conjunction with his work in Oshkosh, had advanced far enough to require one man's entire time and attention, Rev. C. Birkhold was called to the field. After laboring for several months he was succeeded by Rev. Pagels. During the latter's pastorate the organization of the mission into a congregation was effected. Rev. Paul Hein, the executive officer of the Home Mission Board was present at the meeting and drew up the articles of organization and helped the congregation to lease the old Central Baptist church for its services for a year. After several months of faithful work Rev. Pagels left for Columbus, Ohio, to continue his theological studies. Rev. Pagels is carrying on similar work at De Pere and Fontenoy at the present time. Rev. O. Gerbich succeeded Rev. Pagels at Green Bay for a number of months. On May 2, 1909, the present pastor, Rev. L. Gast was installed in his office as the first regular pastor of the congregation. On March 21, 1910, the congregation bought the Central Baptist church property located at the corner of Madison and Moravian streets. The Grace Lutheran church lays claim to being the first Lutheran church in Brown county to introduce regular English services. It also claims to have the only Sunday school in Brown county where the English language is used exclusively. The object of the church is to preach and teach the faith of the fathers in the language of the children, and it is mainly to this that it attributes its rapid growth.

The church is in a flourishing condition financially and bids fair to become one of the largest Protestant congregations in Green Bay, and one of the largest Lutheran churches of Brown county. All societies, of which there are a Ladies' Aid Society, the Luther League and the church choir, are active and prosperous. The congregation has just completed a fine, new and modern parsonage and hope soon to follow this up with a new church, for "God's word and Luther's doctrine pure ever shall endure."

(References for Chapter XXII: Wis. Hist. Colls.; Rev. L. A. Ricklin, "Records of St. John's Parish;" Rev. William Crawford, "God's Providence for Forty Years;" Mrs. Elizabeth S. Martin, "Methodism in Wisconsin;" Rev. J. F. Kieb, "Souvenir Reference Manual of Christ Church.")

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CHAPTER XXIII

LIBRARIES

There were a number of good private libraries in Green Bay and De Pere at an early day. Among the French inhabitants were to be found finely bound volumes of the French poets, and the first permanent American settlers brought with them their libraries of books, largely of a religious nature with a few works of fiction scattered between. Saturday, August 18, 1838, in the *Wisconsin Democrat*, edited by Charles C. Sholes, appears the first advertisement of a circulating library in the whole Wisconsin territory. J. Wilkins announces that "Believing that the convenience of an establishment of this kind is much desired he respectfully announces that he has at his shop in Astor a numerous and well selected assortment of books. His novels—the popular literature of the day—comprise the productions of Scott, Cooper, Bulwer, Marryatt, Boz, etc. Books let under usual circulating library regulations."

After this pioneer attempt at a circulating library no effort was made in this direction until the firm of Whitney & Reynolds, in the latter part of the sixties, started a circulating library in connection with their news depot. Here could be obtained all the latest fiction but not much of the more solid reading. The latter want was, however, supplied by the Irving Library, a well selected collection of volumes organized by the Rev. William Crawford with rooms in the Presbyterian parsonage. This library was burned in the great fire of 1880. The Boys' Reading Room, with a small collection of books, ran for a number of years under the management of Mrs. George North and other philanthropic women.

The question of a public library in Green Bay was first mooted in the winter of 1883-84. A subscription paper was circulated at that time presenting the urgent need of an institution of this description. Rufus B. Kellogg, president of the Kellogg National Bank, from the first took keen interest in this project and volunteered if the people would raise \$2,000 to double the amount.

The matter remained in abeyance until the fall of 1887, when Mr. and Mrs. Arthur C. Neville proposed to start a series of "Evenings in Italy," the proceeds to be devoted to a library fund.

These evenings ran for two winters with gratifying results and Mr. Kellogg, when success was assured, again renewed his offer to double any amount made in this way in furtherance of his pet scheme.

In the spring of 1888 a decided step was taken toward the permanent establishment of a library. At that time it became necessary for the city to raise \$15,000 and bonds were issued for that amount. Rufus B. Kellogg purchased these bonds, which bore interest at 6 per cent. He then proposed to the city council that if they and their successors would legally bind the city to pay \$900 yearly for fifty years toward the support of a public library he would return to the city,

as a free gift, the \$15,000 worth of bonds. This generous offer was submitted to popular vote and accepted and thus a free public library was founded. In 1900 Andrew Carnegie gave \$30,000 for a library building, application having been made to him by Mrs. E. H. Ellis and Mrs. George Field.

The Kellogg Public Library now numbers 22,000 volumes and has an annual circulation of 65,000. Three branches are supported in connection with the library and under its supervision, the North Branch library on Main street, the Union Park Library and the Chestnut Avenue Branch Library. Each year the institution extends its influence through the medium of the children's story hour, through clubs for boys and girls, and in talks on the use of the library to the schools. The officers of the board are: Samuel D. Hastings, president; Mrs. Arthur C. Neville, vice president; Elmer S. Hall, secretary; Deborah B. Martin, librarian; Frances Last, first assistant; Edith Joannes and Fannie H. Brett. The library has received many rare and expensive gifts, including old engravings, four original paintings in color by Howard Pyle and eighteen in black and white by the same artist. Twenty-six choice antique oriental rugs have also been given and add much to the beauty of the main room.

The De Pere Public Library was first opened on April 11, 1896. The first movement toward a free library was made by Rev. Mr. Saloman of the Congregational church, De Pere, who held a book social as a means of starting a library. The plan proved successful and a nucleus of good books was formed. Volunteer service was obtained for the opening of the library on certain days, Miss Elizabeth Smith doing excellent work in this way.

This library was, on the organization of a city library, turned over to that institution. It has grown steadily and the reading rooms are well patronized. Comfortable quarters were obtained in West De Pere for the accommodation of the library and have been suitably fitted up for the purpose.

The De Pere Library has in addition been able to accomplish good work through the circulation of books in the Holland language. The library now contains about 6,000 volumes. M. J. Maes, president; Miss Elizabeth Smith, secretary; Helen S. Matthews, librarian; Edith R. Matthews, assistant.

In 1898, the Women's Club of Green Bay sent out a number of traveling libraries through the county, the books being donated by interested persons. The headquarters were at the Kellogg Library, but at the end of two years, no new books having been donated, the plan was discontinued.

On May 15, 1912, at the opening session of the Brown County Board of Supervisors, a petition was read from a committee of women consisting of Mrs. Frank T. Blesch, Mrs. John F. Martin and Miss Deborah B. Martin, asking permission to use the vacated county office building on the corner of Walnut and Jefferson streets as a rest room and meeting place for the women of Brown county. The petition was received and referred to the committee on public buildings. It was favorably reported and in the afternoon of the same day, the measure was adopted.

The establishment of a rest room for the women of the county, which they could make headquarters while in the city and where they could leave their children to be cared for by a responsible person, was the principal feature of the proposition. It was also planned to use one of the rooms for a county museum, where the many valuable and interesting historical relics to be found throughout the county might be stored with safety.





KELLOGG PUBLIC LIBRARY, GREEN BAY



BROWN COUNTY WOMAN'S BUILDING

The Brown County Woman's building now stands complete. The front entrance opens into a vestibule and this through double doors into the corridor which runs through the center of the building. To the right, as one enters, is the room that is hoped will be used for a museum. It is now well and suitably furnished, through the kindness of interested friends, and for the present will be rented for small gatherings. It may also be used for committee meetings, and is primarily for the use of the townspeople. The county rest room across the hall is for the convenience of families from outside the city only. It will also be open for the use of business women of the town and county, and a light lunch, at small cost, will be served to those who wish it. The entire north half of the building has been made into an assembly hall $49\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 44 feet, from the rent of which the trustees hope to meet the running expenses, such as heat, light, water tax, telephone service, rent of piano, and salary of matron in charge. On Sunday afternoons the building is open to the working girls and women of the city. Light refreshments are served, music and other entertainment supplied. Through the generosity of the Board of Supervisors, this good work has been made possible.

CHAPTER XXIV

POLITICAL LIFE—BANKS—THE PRESS

Brown county has been represented in important offices of the state and to some extent in national government.

During territorial days Brown county men were prominent in government councils and the democratic party in Wisconsin was organized in the large assembly room of the old Astor house in 1841.

Governor of Wisconsin territory from October 5, 1841, to September 16, 1844—James Duane Doty of Brown county.

Delegates to Congress from Brown county, from the territory of Wisconsin: James D. Doty, 1838-1840; Morgan L. Martin, 1845-47.

Attorney general—Henry S. Baird, December 7, 1836.

Delegates to the territorial council from Brown county:

First legislative assembly, 1836—Henry S. Baird. President of the council, John P. Arndt. Representatives: Ebenezer Childs, Albert G. Ellis, Alexander J. Irwin.

Second session, 1837-38—members of the council: John P. Arndt, Joseph Dickinson. Replaced by Alexander J. Irwin. Representatives: Ebenezer Childs, George McWilliams, Charles C. Sholes.

Special session, 1838—Council: John P. Arndt, Alexander J. Irwin. Representatives: George McWilliams, Charles C. Sholes, Ebenezer Childs.

Second legislative assembly, 1838—Council: Alexander J. Irwin, Morgan L. Martin. Representatives: Ebenezer Childs, Charles C. Sholes.

Second session, 1839—Council: Morgan L. Martin, Alexander J. Irwin. Representatives: Ebenezer Childs, Charles C. Sholes.

Third session, 1839-40—Council: Morgan L. Martin, Charles C. P. Arndt, who was shot by James R. Vineyard, February, 1842. Representatives: Ebenezer Childs, Charles C. Sholes.

Fourth extra session. The same delegates.

Third legislative session council. Same delegates. Representative: Albert G. Ellis.

Second session. Same delegates from Brown.

Fourth legislative assembly, 1842-43—Council: Morgan L. Martin. Representatives: Albert G. Ellis, David Agry.

Second session. Delegates the same from Brown.

Third session, 1845—Council: Randall Wilcox. No representative from Brown.

Fourth session, 1846—Council: Randall Wilcox. Representative: Elisha Morrow.

Fifth legislative assembly, 1847. No delegate from Brown county in council. Representative: Elisha Morrow.

Special session, 1847—Council, no delegate from Brown. Representative: G. W. Featherstonhaugh of Brown.

Second session, 1848—Representative: G. W. Featherstonhaugh of Brown.

First constitutional convention of state of Wisconsin, November, 1847—Delegate from Brown county, Henry S. Baird.

Second constitutional convention, December, 1847—Delegate from Brown county and president of the convention, Morgan L. Martin.

Secretary of state, 1852-54, Charles D. Robinson.

Attorney general, 1860-62, James H. Howe.

Bank comptroller, 1852-54, James S. Baker.

The supreme court was not separately organized until 1853, previous to which time the judges of the circuit court were ex officio justices of the supreme court.

Under this ruling Alexander W. Stow of the fourth district was a justice from August, 1848, to January 1, 1851, and Timothy O. Howe, from January 1, 1851, to June 1, 1853.

Senators from Brown county—W. J. Abrams, 1868-69; Timothy Burke, 1909-11; Charles W. Day, De Pere, 1887; Frederick S. Ellis, 1864-65; H. F. Hagemeister, 1901, 03, 05, 07; Edward Hicks, 1862-63; Thomas Hudd, 1862-63; 1876, 77, 78, 79, 82, 83, 85; David M. Kelly, 1880-81; Myron P. Lindsley, 1872-73; Joseph F. Loy, 1854-55; Andrew C. Mailer, 1897, 99; Morgan L. Martin, 1858-59; Robert J. McGeehan, De Pere, 1893-95; Matthew J. Meade, Green Bay, 1860-67; Eizon W. Persons, 1889-91.

Members of assembly—William J. Abrams, Green Bay, 1864, 65, 66, 67; David Agry, Green Bay, 1848; D. Cooper Ayers, Fort Howard, 1868, 71, 72; Peter Bartzén, Flintville, 1873-74; Maurice B. Brennan, Wayside, 1881, 1905; Willard E. Burdeau, Flintville, 1901, 1905; Timothy Burke, Wayside, 1895; Timothy Burke, Green Bay, 1907; David M. Burns, Fort Howard, 1878; Edgar Conklin, Green Bay, 1857-58; Joseph S. Curtis, Green Bay, 1869, 71, 72; John Day, Green Bay, 1856; Francis Desnoyers, Green Bay, 1854; Dennis Dewane, Cooperstown, 1873-76; Michael Dockry, Morrison, 1870; Gregoire Dupont, Robinson, 1887; Frederick S. Ellis, Green Bay, 1861, 62, 63; John B. Eugene, Green Bay, 1868; William Field, Jr., De Pere, 1859; Patrick Finnerty, Wrightstown, 1887; William Finnegan, Green Bay, 1903; William J. Fisk, Fort Howard, 1875-76; Michael J. Flaherty, Stark, 1899, 1901; Benjamin Fontaine, Green Bay, 1880-81; Henry Hagemeister, Green Bay, 1893, 95; Albert L. Gray, Fort Howard, 1879, 82; W. S. Hager, West De Pere, 1907; Edward Hicks, Green Bay, 1870; Patrick Hobbins, Morrison, 1874, 78; John M. Hogan, Green Bay, 1882, 1897; Thomas R. Hudd, Green Bay, 1875; Henry J. Jansen, De Pere, 1911; David M. Kelly, Green Bay, 1877, 78, 79; Daniel Lee, De Pere, 1872; John F. Lessey, De Pere, 1851; Mark Martin, Green Bay, 1864; M. L. Martin, 1855, 74; R. J. McGeehan, De Pere, 1889, 91; Thomas J. McGrath, Green Bay, 1897, 99; John F. Meade, Green Bay, 1849; Patrick H. Moran, Morrison, 1882; John C. Neville, 1860; John O'Flaherty, Morrison, 1879; Uriel H. Peak, Green Bay, 1852; E. W. Persons, De Pere, 1887; Lewis W. Peterson, Green Bay, 1909; James J. Rasmussen, Fort Howard, 1881, 83; E. A. Raymond, Green Bay, 1911; Michael Resch, Green Bay, 1876; William Rice, Morrison, 1878; Charles D. Robinson, Green Bay, 1850; David E. Sedgwick, Wrightstown,

1880; Michael Touhey, Morrison, 1877; Anton Vander Heiden, Wrightstown, 1893; Chester G. Wilcox, De Pere, 1880; Randall Wilcox, De Pere, 1853, 67, 69; Ferdinand Wittig, Green Bay, 1909; Christian Woelz, Green Bay, 1872; David M. Kelly, speaker of the assembly.

United States senator—Timothy O. Howe, 1861-79. Representatives: James Duane Doty, 1838-40, 1849-51; Morgan L. Martin, 1847-49.

In 1885 Thomas R. Hudd was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Joseph Rankin, member of Congress from the fifth district and was re-elected in 1886, serving until 1889.

Gustav Kuestermann was elected from the ninth district in 1907. Reelected in 1909.

Timothy O. Howe, after his retirement from the senate, received the appointment of postmaster general in the cabinet of President Chester A. Arthur, serving until his death in 1883.

Brown county was, up to twenty-five years ago, almost solidly democratic. It then became about equally divided and is now republican. The defeat of Thomas R. Hudd for Congress in 1889 marked the change in county politics, although there are still certain districts strongly democratic.

In the election of county officials party lines are not closely drawn. The city of Green Bay is rather unusual from the fact of never, or at least not within the past forty years, allowing politics to sway the elections for city officials.

BANKS

A much discussed question in 1848, when Wisconsin adopted a state constitution was that of "banks or no banks." The great panic of 1837 had left a vivid impression upon the minds of the people and the short life of the two Wisconsin banks, those at Green Bay and Mineral Point which had gone into operation just in time to play their part in the wide-spread ruin in business circles, and add their mite to the great flood of worthless wild-cat bank notes that spread over the whole western country at that time, made the people of Wisconsin territory wary in its legislation on banking. So jealous were the legislatures of the territory of banks and all their works that in every act of incorporation for any purpose passed at the different sessions a clause was inserted to the effect that nothing in the act contained should be taken to authorize the corporation to assume or exercise any banking powers. This proviso was even added to acts incorporating church societies. For some years there can hardly be said to have been any banking business done in Wisconsin territory; merchants and business men were left to their own devices in order to make their exchanges and every man was his own banker.

The state constitution prohibited the legislature from incorporating banks and from conferring banking powers on any corporation; but provided that the question of banks or no banks might be submitted to a vote of the electors. If the decision should be in favor of banks then the legislature might charter banks or might enact a general banking law. No such special charter or general banking law should, however, have any force until submitted to the electors at a general election, and approved by a majority of votes cast on that subject.

In 1851, the legislature submitted the question to the people and a majority

of the votes were cast in favor of banks. Accordingly, the legislature in 1852 made a general banking law which was submitted to the electors in November of that year and approved by them. Provision was made for a bank comptroller, whose main duty it was to see that countersigned circulating notes were issued to banks only in proper amounts for the securities deposited and upon compliance with the law, and that the banks kept these securities good.

As first bank comptroller of the state, James S. Baker proved a most trustworthy official. He organized the office admirably and carried out his important trust with the strictest fidelity. A contemporary review of Comptroller Baker's work says: "To his administration may be attributed at least a part of the good standing and credit which our banks, and incidentally our state, enjoy." Mr. Baker's term of office expired on October 22, 1853, and he absolutely declined to be a candidate for reelection.

In 1853, the Brown county newspapers began to talk "bank" persistently, and on June 22, 1854, the Fox River Bank was organized in Green Bay, with a capital of \$25,000, and with authority to increase this to \$500,000. Sixteen years had passed since the disastrous collapse of the two banks of Green Bay and De Pere and the prospects seemed bright for the new banking institution. Joseph G. Lawton was elected president and Francis Desnoyers, cashier. On March 20, 1856, a letter from De Pere mentions the Brown County Bank of that city.

In 1859, the Bank of Green Bay was established by Henry Strong, with M. D. Peak as cashier. Later the name was changed to the First National Bank. Banking matters ran along pretty smoothly until the election in 1860 of the republican presidential ticket and the consequent agitation in the southern states threatening civil war. The effects were speedily felt; first in the great depreciation of the bonds of the southern states and then in a less decline in those of the northern states. During the winter following, there was uneasiness in regard to our state currency and continuous demand upon the banks for the redemption of their circulating notes in coin. Many banks of the wild-cat sort failed to redeem their notes which became depreciated and uncurrent, and when the rebellion came to a head, by the firing on Fort Sumter, the banking interests of the state were threatened with destruction by compulsory winding up and enforced sale at the panic prices then prevailing of the securities deposited to secure circulation.

In 1861, the following named banks of Brown county are said to be sound and well secured, either by state stock or individual responsibility or both.

BANK OF GREEN BAY

In the early part of the '60s, Otto Tank organized the Fort Howard Bank and as early as 1864 the City National Bank was incorporated in Green Bay, with G. A. Lawton as president and C. Kruger, cashier; and during the '70s was officered by W. J. Fisk as president; J. H. Elmore, vice president, and H. G. Freeman, cashier.

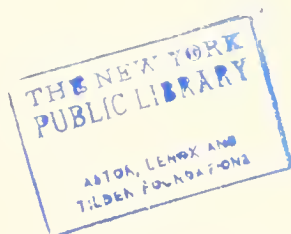
In 1874, the Kellogg National Bank was established by Rufus B. Kellogg of Oshkosh, and afterward of Green Bay.



FIRST BANK BUILDING IN DE PERE, 1836



MORAVIAN CHURCH, 1850



The McCartney Bank in Fort Howard was incorporated in 1882 as a state bank, and in 1892 was made a national bank. David McCartney, president.

The Citizens National Bank was organized in 1888, with John Paley, president.

De Pere, in 1881, had two banks: The First National, Rufus B. Kellogg, president, organized in 1878 as the Kellogg Banking Company, and succeeded by the State Bank of De Pere in 1900, and the banking institution of H. R. Jones, organized in 1872.

The banks in Brown county at the present time are, in Green Bay, in order of organization—Kellogg National Bank: President, H. F. Hagemeister; cashier, John Rose. McCartney National Bank: President, J. H. Tayler; cashier, G. A. Richardson. Citizens National Bank: President, H. S. Eldred; cashier, H. P. Klaus. Bank of Green Bay: President, P. F. Dorschel; cashier, H. R. Erichsen. Farmers' Exchange Bank: President, J. H. Osterloh; cashier, A. L. Cannard.

DE PERE

State Bank: President, J. S. Gittins; cashier, C. G. Scott. National Bank of De Pere: President, A. G. Wells; cashier, J. B. Brockman.

WRIGHTSTOWN

Farmers' and Traders' Bank: President, J. H. Tayler; cashier, C. W. Mueller.

WAYSIDE

Wayside State Bank: President, T. Burke; cashier, O. M. Boock.

DENMARK

Denmark State Bank: President, Mitchell Joannes; cashier, G. G. DeBroux.

NEW FRANKEN

New Franken State Bank: President, A. L. Greiling; cashier, C. Duquaine.

PULASKI

Pulaski State Bank: President, J. Peplinski; cashier, F. K. Raniszewski.

THE PRESS

Colonel Samuel Ryan, of the Appleton Crescent, thus recalls early days of journalism in Wisconsin: John V. Suydam brought the first press into Wisconsin and issued the first few numbers of the Green Bay Intelligencer in 1833; General Ellis coming in afterward. In 1836, that paper and the Wisconsin Free Press, edited by Joseph Dickenson and M. L. Martin, were superseded by the Wisconsin Democrat, H. O. and C. C. Sholes, publishers, and Charles C. Sholes, editor.

In 1840 the Democrat was removed to Kenosha. In 1841, John V. Suydam and J. G. Knapp got hold of the old Intelligencer press in Madison, wagoned it to Green Bay and started the Phoenix. A fire ate that up in 1842, all save one form and a half printed issue, and we helped to get out its last number on the press of the Green Bay Republican, a paper started in September, 1841, by

H. O. Sholes and in which establishment we soon after officiated as the devil, carrier and editor all at the same time.

Still another description of early printing in Brown county is from the pen of Frank Tilton and was written in 1904:

"The first printing done in the great territory lying west of Lake Michigan was done in Green Bay by A. G. Ellis, a young man who came here from the east.

A Green Bay merchant had lost his store and other property by fire, and a lottery scheme was devised to give him a fresh start. Just how the type happened to be here does not appear, but the type for the lottery tickets was set up, and for want of a press the impression was taken by means of a muffled planer and mallet. For the benefit of the uninitiated the planer is a smooth block of wood. The type was inked, the paper laid on it, the planer was covered with soft woollen cloth, and struck down from the mallet, giving an impression from the type on the paper.

The first paper printed here was, I believe, the first in the great northwest. It was started on December 4, 1830, by John P. Suydam and bore the name of the Green Bay Intelligencer. A. G. Ellis early became connected with it, and Mr. Suydam soon retired, leaving him sole proprietor. In 1834, Ellis associated with him in the publication of the paper C. C. P. Arndt, who was killed in the territorial capitol by Vineyard in 1842. Messrs. Ellis and Arndt conducted the paper with various periods of suspension until 1836, when it was sold to C. C. Sholes, afterwards democratic member of the legislature. He took his brother in partnership but soon after the paper was discontinued.

The next venture of Green Bay in the newspaper line was the Wisconsin Free Press, R. Stephenson, proprietor, and Joseph Dickenson, editor, established in 1835. In 1836, the offices of the Intelligencer and the Free Press were united and the Wisconsin Democrat made its appearance with H. O. and O. C. Sholes as proprietors. It was the first paper to advocate the formation of a democratic party in Wisconsin. The office, with most of the business portion of Green Bay, was destroyed by fire in 1840 and the Sholeses moved to Southport, now Kenosha.

In September, 1841, the Green Bay Republican, a whig paper, was started by an association with H. C. Sholes as publisher, and C. C. P. Arndt, editor. After the tragic death of the latter, H. S. Baird was editor for a time. Sam Ryan, Jr., who entered the office as devil when it was started in November, 1844, assumed control of the paper and changed its name to Republican. Ryan afterwards removed to Appleton and made himself a name as the venerable proprietor of the Appleton Crescent.

Also in 1841 there was established in Green Bay a paper known as the Phoenix, with J. V. Suydam as publisher, and Judge J. D. Knapp as editor, but it was burned on December 22d of the same year.

Up to this time the papers had all been short lived, but on the 13th day of August, 1846, the first number of the Green Bay Advocate was issued by the brothers Charles D. and Albert C. Robinson from Buffalo, New York, the former as editor. It was published uninterruptedly from that date and is now (in 1904) in its fifty-eighth year. The presses and most of the type were second-hand, procured from the office of the Buffalo Pilot. The paper has always been demo-

cratic, and in 1851, '52 and '53, Charles D. Robinson was secretary of state and was once a candidate for governor. In the early days, when he was absent from home, his wife now and then handled the editorial quill, and once came a good joke on him, by bringing out an issue of the paper advocating the opposite political faith.

This paper had a continuous existence under the same management until Dorr Clark on March 8, 1875, was added to the firm. After the death of Colonel Robinson in 1886 the paper was continued under the management of Colonel Robinson's widow, Mrs. Abbie Ballou Robinson, and of Albert C. Robinson. Later the Advocate was sold to David Decker of Casco, and published by him under different editorships until it was dissolved in 1906, after a continuous existence of sixty years.

Soon after the advent of the Advocate into Green Bay the Ryan brothers discontinued the Republican and the Advocate remained up to 1850 the only newspaper published in Brown county. In that year Baldwin and Thayer commenced the publication of the Deperre Advertiser and continued it one year. In 1852 White began the publication of a sheet called the Regulator and published it intermittently for several years. In 1860 the Bay City Press began its career in Green Bay. It was published by John Lawe, and edited successively by William Green and Harry E. Eastman. It was a spicy sheet and during the war received news from the front and issued separate bulletins to keep the people informed of special items of interest. The Bay Press was discontinued in December, 1862.

In 1858, a German paper, the Green Bay Post, was published and edited by Jacob Fuss of Green Bay. Later a daily sheet was published for about a year, called the Banner. This paper was succeeded by another German paper called the Volks Zeitung and the Concordia.

On February 1, 1866, the Green Bay Gazette was incorporated by George C. Ginty, who continued as publisher and editor until the early part of the year 1868, when James Tapley and Dwight I. Follett purchased the paper. Tapley was only connected with the firm for a short time and on January 1, 1870, George E. Hoskinson assumed the editorship of the State Gazette, as it was then called. The size of the paper was increased to 30x24 inches. In November, 1871, the Gazette began a daily paper.

The appointment of G. E. Hoskinson in 1873 to the consulship in Jamaica threw the management of the Gazette on D. I. Follett, although Hoskinson continued his connection with the paper, and it was published both as a daily and weekly in 1888.

On the death of D. I. Follett, his widow, Mrs. Rosamund Follett, edited and published the Gazette acceptably until her failing health necessitated the securing of another proprietor. Negotiations were begun with Walter E. Gardner, an up-to-date newspaper man, who had for years been connected with the editorial department of the Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin, and also with the Sentinel. The Gazette, under Gardner's management, became a regular city paper, was much enlarged and was well printed and edited. The Associated Press dispatches were first regularly received at this time, no former Green Bay paper having attempted anything of the kind.

The Gazette is now published by the Gazette Publishing Company, N. C. Pickard president, and a daily and semi-weekly paper is issued.

The De Pere News issued its first number in August, 1871, P. R. Proctor, editor, continuing under that management for several years. J. H. Halline is the present editor.

The De Pere Facts was first issued in 1881 by J. A. Comerford, and after a few numbers had been printed D. E. Hickey became editor and proprietor. The De Pere Standard was also published in 1881 by Edward Van De Casterle and John B. Heyrman. During the seventies the Green Bay Globe, a small but interesting sheet, was published and edited by Mather D. Kimball. The Fort Howard Review and the Fort Howard Herald both came into existence at this time, and Der Landsmann, a weekly German paper. The Green Bay Review, the former Fort Howard Review, changed its name when the two cities consolidated. In De Pere are published the Brown County Democrat, an excellent county newspaper; the De Pere News, and De Pere Volksstimm, the only Holland newspaper published in Wisconsin, both edited by J. F. Kuyper, and a monthly publication, St. Joseph's Annals. There are also two bright little school sheets published by the east and west high schools, Green Bay—the Aeroplane and Snapshots, respectively. The Denmark Enterprise is published at Denmark, its first issue was in January, 1911. The Green Bay Herald is edited by Louis Sogey.

CHAPTER XXV

RAILROADS—MAILS—WATER TRANSPORTATION—HARBOR

In the address made by James H. Howe of Green Bay on the completion of the Fox River improvement, he thus gave a prediction of the coming railroads in Brown county. "How better can we inaugurate these auspicious events the 'good time coming' than by extending to you here the hand of friendship and good will, pledging ourselves to rest not with what has been accomplished but join hands with you again and again in behalf of all enterprises calculated to hasten our material or moral prosperity—nor stop until the iron horse upon the land shall answer back to his sister upon the water—until your homes and ours shall be bound together with bands of iron—and the interchange of thought between us though far softer than the thunder shall yet be rapid as the lightning."

James H. Howe and his uncle Timothy O. Howe were both deeply interested in railway projects that would connect Green Bay with outside cities. The Fox River Improvement was more on the line of a great canal and was of value in freight transportation, but for speedy connection with eastern cities it was not a success.

In September, 1856, the Milwaukee and Lake Superior Railroad Company was brought to the attention of the Green Bay city fathers, and an appropriation of \$1,000, toward the immediate survey of said road ordered by the city council, "as the towns on the line of said road have made the same appropriation believing it would result greatly to the interest of this city and to the county of Brown to have said road surveyed and located as contemplated this fall."

There was much discussion in the Green Bay council of January, 1857, as to the advisability of subscriptions by municipal corporations for stock of any kind, a recent decision in the New York courts having pronounced it unconstitutional. The continual petitions sent in, by would-be incorporators of plank road companies impelled the council to decide that a road of this kind was not as practical as a railroad. On January 3, 1857 a committee was appointed to consider the means necessary to be taken to aid a projected railroad leading from this city to Lake Michigan. The committee reported, and recommended that the council communicate with William B. Ogden, of Chicago to procure his concurrence and aid; John P. Arndt, David Agry, Thomas Green, Francis Desnoyers and Albert C. Robinson, committee.

William B. Ogden, a capitalist and owner of extensive saw mills on the Peshtigo river was as president of the newly incorporated Chicago & Northwestern Railway, the prime mover in bringing the line through Brown county. The line as first planned was to run farther to the westward through Shawano county.

The Northwestern was a land grant road and it was deemed difficult for

that reason to change the projected route and retain its grant. To do this, an act of Congress was required. Andrew E. Elmore, then of Muckwanago, Wisconsin, an important man in public affairs, was consulted by William B. Ogden in regard to the matter, and Mr. Elmore immediately exerted his powerful influence and procured the passage of an act of Congress, authorizing the company to change its route yet still retain its charter land grant. Upon the passage of this act the line was changed to run to Fort Howard and Green Bay.

Some opposition was manifested apparently for the Bay City Press strikes a warning note and reminds the people that it is an easy matter to "change the hand of friendship into the fist of resentment." On the whole, however, there was enthusiastic support of the impending improvement.

In July, 1861, William B. Ogden, president of the new road, Perry H. Smith, vice-president, and George L. Dunlap, general manager, with Andrew E. Elmore, his son James H. Elmore, then a young fellow of nineteen, Talbot C. Dousman and son Hercules came through to Green Bay.

A meeting was called to consider the railroad project and proved an enthusiastic occasion. Two chairmen were elected to preside, Henry S. Baird, then mayor of Green Bay and Dr. Uriel H. Peak of Fort Howard, prominent in civic affairs. Rousing speeches were made by the two chairmen, by Dominick Hunt, John C. Neville, Otto Tank and other adherents of the enterprise as well as by the visiting railway officials. Robert Chappell, president of the Borough of Fort Howard was, on the road's completion in 1862, made the first station agent at the Fort Howard terminus. A general vote on the railroad proposition was called by the County Board for January 27, 1862. Commenting on it the Press says, "The vote for the railroad proposition proved as generally anticipated a very light one but as far as heard from favorable to the imposition of the tax. We have but little doubt that the proposition has carried in the county by about four hundred majority.

Majorities for proposition: City of Green Bay—

Borough of Fort Howard; Town of Howard; Bellevue, Lawrence, Preble; Village of De Pere; Town of Pittsfield; Humboldt.

Against the proposition: Town of Scott—

Morrison, Glenmore, Rockland, Wrightstown.

The towns of Suamico and Depere were not given.

On the favorable report of the popular vote the county board convened and resolved that the sum of \$150,000 in bonds to bear interest at eight per cent be issued toward the support of the railway proposition.

In February, 1862, the newspaper item is given that William J. Fisk is beginning to get out railroad ties "despite opposition." Green Bay city voted \$15,000 toward the enterprise and on May 15, 1862 at a special meeting of the Borough Council of Fort Howard, Otto Tank, president, on motion it was resolved: "That Otto Tank, D. W. Hubbard and Roswell Morris are hereby appointed a committee on behalf of the president and council of the Borough of Fort Howard to negotiate with the Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company for the purchase of \$15,000 of the stock of said company, and that said committee is authorized to pay and exchange for said stock the sum of \$15,000 in the bonds of the Borough of Fort Howard."

It was further resolved that: "Whereas the city of Green Bay proposes to

aid in the construction of the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad from Appleton to Fort Howard by subscription to the stock thereof, the sum of \$15,000, and whereas, the Borough of Fort Howard proposes to subscribe the same amount . . . and whereas it is believed that a free bridge across the Fox River to connect the two said corporations is necessary for the convenience of both; Resolved, that we are in favor of uniting with Green Bay in the cost of building said bridge as soon as said road shall be in actual progress of construction, the cost to be apportioned upon the basis of the taxable property in each corporation."

Colonel James H. Howe had resigned from the army in 1863 to accept the position of attorney for the Chicago & Northwestern road. The road from Appleton to Fort Howard was built during the summer of 1862. The majority of the men who went to the war from Brown county in 1861 were carried by the Fannie Fisk to Appleton, where they took the Northwestern road. On the first of May, 1861, the Green Bay Advocate started a daily bulletin of news from the front and the following account of how this ambitious enterprise was accomplished is thus told by Erastus Root, one of "the boys" from the Advocate office who carried out the project.

"The Bulletin," the first daily paper printed in Green Bay, was issued from the Advocate by Charles D. and Albert C. Robinson. It was started in the early spring of 1861, and was continued until the Chicago & Northwestern reached here in November, 1862.

We had neither railroads nor telegraphs at that time, and the quickest way of communicating with the outside world was by steamboats on the Fox river and Lake Winnebago, they running daily between Green Bay and Oshkosh, to which latter place the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad had been built on its way north.

It required a day's time for each boat to make the trip—one starting from Green Bay and the other from Oshkosh early in the morning, about five o'clock. Considerable time was required going and coming in passing through the eighteen or twenty locks on the route, as the elevation of Lake Winnebago is one hundred and seventy feet higher than at Green Bay.

The plan of getting the news was a good one. The Advocate had a miniature printing office on each boat. There were racks and cases. The transference of type, etc., from the boat going south to the one coming north was not always at the same lock—but was Appleton or a little north. The distributing and setting of the type was generally done in the clerk's room.

Upon starting on the return trip the compositors had to select the most important telegraphic news from the latest city dailies, which papers were always on hand for them. The work of setting the type had to be accurately done and ready by the end of the trip to be carried to the Advocate office then located on Washington street, on the second floor of the present Weise-Holliman building.

The following local from the Bulletin of September 2, and the Advocate of September 5, 1861, is worth copying here.

"Good Time—How it is made—A Lake Superior paper acknowledges the receipt of the Advocate Bulletin on the same day it is printed—or rather published. Well our paper is a little ahead of everything lately, and the way it is done is this: Through the kindness of the officers of Mr. Buck's river boats,

the Fountain City and the Bay City, who furnish a room for the purpose on each, we have the telegraph news put in type every day on board the boat.

"Two of the boys each with a pair of cases go up the river every morning nearly to Appleton, where they meet the returning boat, transfer the cases to it, and by the time the boat reaches our docks they have the telegraphic news set up. Ten minutes thereafter, our forms are made up and the paper to press and before the mail is distributed the Bulletin is circulated about the city.

"On the evenings when the Swan (Capt. D. M. Whitney), the Lake Superior mail boat leaves this city, the bulletin dated for the next morning, is thrown on board. In the morning it is at Masonville, Bay de Noquet, and before another evening at Marquette. So the Lake Superior folks may read the news on the evening of the day it is published here, and as soon as many who live not more than forty miles from here."

"The boys" referred to above were of the regular force. Generally two went up together, but sometimes there was but one. They were Erastus Root, in charge of the first trip, George C. Sager, J. Leslie Cady and later Dwight I. and David Follett.

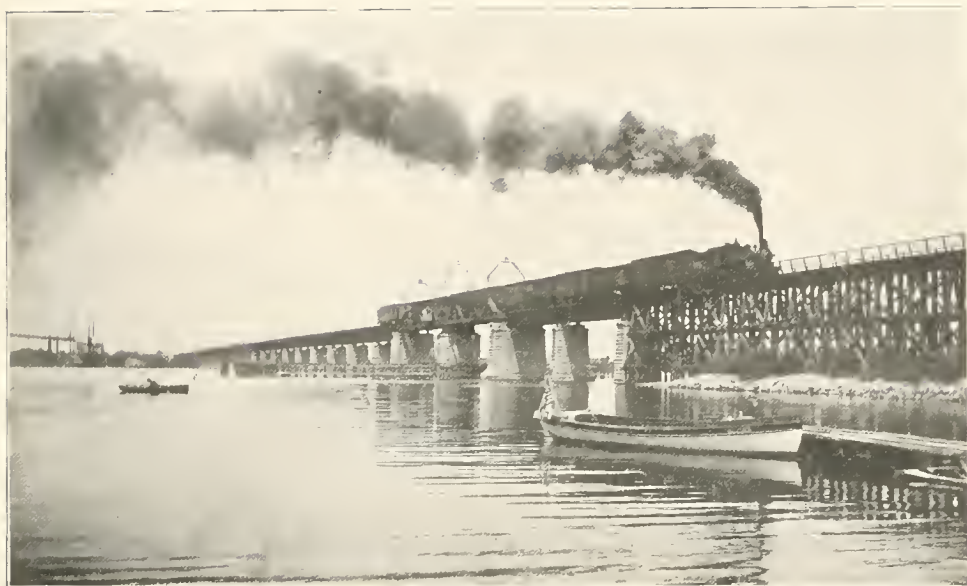
The young compositors of the Advocate, as they went up the river in the fall of 1862, could see the construction train of the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad as it neared Fort Howard, and on November 10, of that year, 1862, the first train entered the borough. There was great rejoicing over the event in the twin cities of Green Bay and Fort Howard, all uniting in having a great and glorious time. Prominent railroad officials were present, there was a fine banquet, champagne flowed like water, everybody made speeches and good ones, and satisfaction over the successful termination of the great enterprise was universal.

The extension of the Chicago & Northwestern road from Green Bay to the Lake Superior country, was built in the summer of 1871. It was the year when the great fires were burning up the forests of this section and the engineers in charge were greatly hampered for this reason in the work of survey. With the extension northward and the completion of the Manitowoc division, the Chicago & Northwestern now passes through the townships of Wrightstown, Ashwaubenon, Lawrence, Howard, Suamico, Bellevue and New Denmark.

On May 22, 1871, the proposition of the Milwaukee & Northern Railroad, that the county take \$100,000 worth of stock in that road, was brought before the county board and later submitted to popular vote and accepted.

On November 17, 1871, the Green Bay & Lake Pepin Railway made a similar proposition which also met with popular approval. William J. Abrams, who, from his coming to Green Bay in 1861, had been interested in aiding transportation facilities in this section, obtained the charter of the Lake Pepin road in 1866 while serving as a member of the assembly, and later devoted his time and energy toward the completion of the road to the Mississippi.

David M. Kelly of New York who had come to Brown county in 1870, became interested in the Green Bay & Lake Pepin project, was its first vice president on the road's incorporation, Charles D. Robinson was elected president and James H. Elmore treasurer, of the new railway. Through eastern capital, obtained by D. M. Kelly, who took the first contracts for the construction of the



CHICAGO & NORTHWESTERN RAILROAD BRIDGE ACROSS FOX RIVER



BASCULE BRIDGE, AT WALNUT STREET, GREEN BAY



road, and through capital obtained by him from eastern men, the 214 miles of road from Green Bay to the Mississippi were constructed.

The Green Bay & Lake Pepin Railroad was later known as the Green Bay & Minnesota, then as the Green Bay, Winona & St. Paul, and now as the Green Bay & Western, with railroad offices in Green Bay. The Kewaunee Railroad known as the Kewaunee, Green Bay & Western, and under the same management, branches as the Ahnapee & Western to Sturgeon Bay, and as the Iola & Northern to Iola.

The vice president D. A. Jordan, and the general manager, F. B. Seymour of the Green Bay & Western both reside in Green Bay. The Green Bay & Western passes through the towns of Hobart on the west and Preble on the Kewaunee line.

The Milwaukee & Northern Railway Company was incorporated in 1870 by Milwaukee capitalists, and completed its line to Green Bay on June 19, 1873, and regular trains commenced running on the 25th. The road enters the extreme southwest corner of the county through the town of Holland, passing through the townships of Wrightstown, Rockland, Allouez, Depere, Howard and Suamico, and the cities of De Pere and Green Bay. Soon after its completion, the Milwaukee & Northern was leased to the Wisconsin Central Railroad Company, which operated it for many years, when it passed into the hands of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad Company. An extension of the Milwaukee & Northern was built to the Lake Superior region in 1881, upon the road's securing from the state of Michigan a land grant of \$4,000,000. This extension was at first called the Wisconsin & Michigan Railroad, but was consolidated with the Milwaukee & Northern, and later the entire line passed under the control of the St. Paul road.

The completion of so many railroads in the early seventies brought added prosperity to Brown county. A celebration of the auspicious event was held in January, 1872, at Turner's hall, Green Bay, which for gayety and hilarity was long remembered. The three roads, Chicago & Northwestern, Milwaukee & Northern and Green Bay & Lake Pepin, were all appropriately represented. A sumptuous banquet was followed by a ball of exceptional splendor, the mottoes of the several roads were entwined with evergreens and the distinguished out of town guests went away, it is recorded, highly pleased and congratulatory of the successful completion of the several roads, to so hospitable a town.

MAILS

In 1824 the United States mails were conveyed during the season of navigation by the irregular and tardy conveyance of sail vessels, and the inhabitants were for weeks and months at a time without intelligence of what was passing in other parts of the world, from which they were as completely isolated as though on a desert island. During the winter the mail was carried on a man's back through the trackless wilderness between Green Bay and Chicago once a month. The privilege was purchased partly by voluntary contributions of the citizens and partly from an allowance from the United States quartermaster's department, and the military post at Fort Howard. The government at Washington found it would not pay to establish a mail route or defray the expenses

of carrying the mail and decreed that no expenditure could be made by the post-office department for that purpose. If the mail was delayed beyond its usual time the carrier was supposed to have fallen a victim to starvation or been detained by Indians.

In 1832 Alexis Cleremont, at that time a man of twenty-four, began to make regular trips between Green Bay and Chicago, the contractor being Pierre Bernard Grignon. He would start from the postoffice in Shantytown, taking the Indian trail to Manitowoc. Only twice would he see the lake between Green Bay and Milwaukee—at Sauk river, twenty-five miles north of Milwaukee and at Two Rivers. From Milwaukee he went to Skunk Grove, then to Gros Point, where he struck the lake again, and would see no more of the lake after that until he reached Chicago.

Cleremont never made these trips alone, an Oneida Indian always accompanied him. The load was limited to sixty pounds each, and they usually carried that weight. As a rule it took a full month to make the round from Green Bay to Chicago and return. In addition to the mail bag, each man carried two shot-bags filled with parched corn; one of them hulled, the other ground. For the greater part of their diet they relied upon the Indians, or on the game they could kill; the bags of corn were merely to fall back upon in case the Indians had moved away, as they were apt to, on hunting and fishing expeditions. At night they camped in the woods, wherever darkness overtook them, and slept in the blankets which they carried in addition to the mail pouch on their backs.

The pay for these early carriers was from \$60 to \$65 for a round trip, although in the fall when travel was especially hard, it sometimes reached \$70. It was a hard life and the four weeks' tramp meant in winter, in addition to hunger and cold, the danger of snow blindness which often crippled the carrier. His important mission did not always ensure friendly treatment from the few houses lying along his route, and if money, as well as provisions gave out, he was in bad case.

Cleremont made the route between Green Bay and Chicago until 1836, when he was transferred to that of Portage and Fort Winnebago, following the military road from Green Bay. P. B. Grignon was a mail contractor for many years, carrying mail between Green Bay and Milwaukee, during the forties; the carrier usually going by pony transportation. The pistol holsters to hang in the saddle bow for protection on this lonely route are preserved in the Kellogg public library. Later a regular stage line was established along the bay and river route and to inland towns and this mode of mail distribution was continued until railroads threaded the entire country, and the rural mail service was instituted for villages off the line.

In 1834 boats would come to anchor opposite Fort Howard, and the government boat would immediately come out with anyone who happened to be on hand to inquire for mail from the garrison. The passenger on a small schooner, commanded by Captain Lawrence, says that he had not realized the necessities of the people in this far off post and the absolute lack of news, until he saw how bitterly disappointed two men from the fort Captain Cruger and Doctor Worrell seemed to be, when told there was nothing in the way of mail brought on the boat.

The net proceeds of the Green Bay postoffice according to the government





CITY HALL, GREEN BAY



FEDERAL BUILDING, GREEN BAY

census of 1840, averaged \$682.69, as the entire population of Brown county at that time was 2,107. On the seventh of June, 1838, proposals were invited by the postmaster general for carrying the mail from January 1, 1838 to June 30, 1842 on the different post routes throughout the territory. The majority had weekly service, but on five of the routes it was to be carried tri-weekly. These were from Milwaukee to Green Bay and Green Bay to Fort Winnebago. From Chicago to Milwaukee, four-horse post coaches were to be used, but on the majority of routes the carrier on foot was the accepted mode of mail transportation. There was not a daily mail throughout Wisconsin territory.

On August 20, 1846, the "Mail Arrangements" were as follows:

GREEN BAY POSTOFFICE

The mail leaves for Milwaukee via Sheboygan, Mondays at 4 o'clock, A. M. Via Fond du Lac on Thursdays at 4 o'clock, A. M. Arrives via Sheboygan on Wednesdays at 6 o'clock A. M. Via Fond du Lac on Saturdays at 7 P. M.

Mails close on Sunday and Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock P. M. Letters should be deposited in the office by 7 o'clock P. M.

The office will be open on Sundays from 8 to 9 A. M. and from 6 to 7 P. M. for the reception of letters to be prepaid.

J. S. FISK, P. M.

In large black type under date of March 16, 1848, the Advocate advertises

"MAIL LOST"

"We hear that the U. S. Mail was lost on Tuesday, the 14th inst, on the Milwaukee and Green Bay route, some ten or fifteen miles beyond Fond du Lac. We do not hear particulars."

The mail was at that date carried in a wagon and it was supposed and the explanation given that the mail had been stolen. Paul Juneau and fifteen others, started from Milwaukee in search of the robbers but with fruitless result.

In the morning two Indians, Kittatanee and Weseyre, came in and informed Narcisse Juneau that they had found a mail bag in the road. Narcisse immediately went after it and found its contents all safe, and just as it had dropped from the wagon of the careless mail carrier. Among new post routes established by a bill passed August 26, 1850, are noted the following for Brown county. From Green Bay, via: Bridgeport (Wrightstown), Konomac, Menasha, Wanekuna, Omro, Waukau, Berlin, Bluffton, Namahhkon, Marquette, Kingston and Bellefontaine to Fort Winnebago. From Green Bay, via: Okanto, Mouth of Menominee River, Cedar Fork, Eskanawba, Wooster, Iron Mountain, Mouth of Carp River, and L'Anse to Copper Harbor. From Green Bay to Sturgeon Bay. From Green Bay to Kewaunee. From Green Bay, via: Neenah and Wisconsin Rivers to Prairie du Chien. From Two Rivers to Green Bay.

The long lists of uncalled for letters in the Green Bay postoffice during the '50s were for the benefit of the towns throughout the county, the residents only coming occasionally to town for the mail. At the end of each list is advertised Foreign Letters, indicative of the large crowd of immigrants coming to Wisconsin without as yet any settled place of abode.

In 1854 the schedule of routes is published and shows that the mail from Fond du Lac was delivered three times a week, leaving Green Bay on Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 4 A. M. and reaching Fond du Lac the same day at 10 P. M. During the season of navigation, mail was received from Two Rivers three times a week, but the regular mail from Sheboygan only came twice a week; once a week from Stockbridge. Bids for carrying the mail were called for in Washington, and the contract ran for four years. The population of the county had increased in 1850, to 6,153, but that also included, beside the bay towns, territory south to Grand Chute.

On August 17, 1861, it is recorded that, "By mail coaches we have had the mail every day at 4 o'clock."

The mail service for Lake Superior under the management of Captain Daniel M. Whitney, "who directs the motions of the Swan," was an unusually well managed route. The mail steamer Swan took in the bay circuit with its terminus, Bay de Noquet, from there by pony express the mails were carried to the Lake Superior country. In speaking of Captain Whitney's appointment as special mail agent the Press remarks: "If there are any emoluments we congratulate the Captain for dear knows his Sheriff's office is mighty poor pay just now."

When daily boats ran between the railway terminus in the Fox river valley and Green Bay, the mails were usually sent that way during the summer, but in winter the mail coach brought letters and papers from the eastern and southern outside world. With the coming of the railroad the mail coach and boat disappeared in the river towns as a bearer of mail, but continued for the county at large and the bay towns until the continuation of the Chicago & Northwestern line to the Lake Superior country in 1871. The rural delivery established by government, now delivers a daily mail throughout Brown county and every farmer's house has at its gate a mail box for the daily newspaper and letter.

As towns were set off throughout the county, postoffices were established at the points distant from mail centers, for the distribution of mail. A postoffice was established at Cooperstown as early as 1848, with Allen A. Cooper as postmaster. In June 19, 1856, the Wequiock postoffice was in operation with John B. A. Masse, postmaster in charge, and doubtless there were others in towns throughout the county at an early day. At the city of Green Bay today, although all trains do not carry mails, there are 24 mails despatched each day, except Sundays, by railway trains and 22 mails received. The postal sales for the calendar year 1912 were \$86,428.66.

WATER TRANSPORTATION

During the past two hundred years a great variety of boats have been used in navigating the river and bay, the first and most widely constructed being the birch bark canoe. This graceful, gondola-shaped craft, its building and use is minutely described by Baron LaHontan in 1684. He tells of how the large clean pieces of bark are stripped from the tree, the workman being very careful to select the smoothest and most satiny sections and to peel it from the trunk with extreme care in order to preserve it in a large unmarred square, the bark being soaked with hot water in the winter season to make it peel easily.

"The bottom of the Boat is all of one piece to which the sides are so artfully sewed by the savages that the whole Boat appears as one continued Bark. They are trimm'd and strengthen'd with wicker Wreaths and ribs of Cedar-wood, which are almost as light as Cork; the Wreaths are as thick as a Crownpiece; but the bark has the thickness of two Crowns, and the Ribs are as thick as three.

"They are very convenient upon the account of their extreme lightness and the drawing of very little water; but at the same time their brittle and tender Fabrick is an argument of an equivalent inconveniency; for if they do but touch or grate upon Stone or Sand the cracks of the Bark fly open upon which the Water gets in and spoils the Provisions and Merchandise. Every day there is some new chink or seam to be gummed over." (LaHontan.)

The batteau came with the necessity of the fur trade which required stouter boats in which to transport merchandise and peltries. These batteaux were dark heavily built structures about thirty feet in length. The Canadian boatman who paddled or rowed this clumsy craft always sang at his task, keeping time in exact rhythm to the beat of the oar. The "Bourgeoise" or captain of the crew usually led the song, the crew coming in with a chorus, as for instance:

"Bourgeoise; Par derriere chez ma tante,
Par derriere chez ma tante
Chorus; Par derriere chez ma tante.
Par derriere chez ma tante."

and so on through an endless number of verses.

"The batteau or canoe was manned, according to size and capacity, by a crew consisting of from four to ten Canadian voyageurs. The Canadian voyageurs came originally from Canada, principally from Quebec and Montreal. They were employed by the principal traders, under written contracts, executed in Canada, for a term from three to five years, their wages from two hundred and fifty livres to seven hundred and fifty livres per year, to which was added what was termed an "outfit," consisting of a Mackinaw blanket, two cotton shirts, a capote or loose sack coat, two pairs of coarse pants, shoes, and socks, and some other small articles, including soap. Their food, when in the "wintering ground," consisted for the greater portion of the time, of corn and tallow, occasionally enriched by a piece of pork or venison and bear meat when they happened to be plenty. With this spare and simple diet, they were always healthy and always cheerful and happy. Their power of endurance was astonishing and they would row or paddle all day, and when necessary would carry on their backs, suspended by a strap or band crossing their breast or forehead, large packs of furs or merchandise, weighing from one hundred to one hundred and thirty pounds, for whole days. In the spring of the year, they returned to their settlements or principal trading posts, to spend the summer months in comparative ease, and in the enjoyments of the pastimes and frolics they so highly prized. Always improvident, openhearted and convivial, they saved nothing, nor thought of the wants of the future, but spent freely the whole of their hard-earned and scanty wages in a few weeks of their stay among their friends.

It is supposed that the first vessel to float on Green Bay's waters was La Salle's "Griffen." The first steamboat was "Walk in the Water."

John P. Arndt who with Daniel Whitney was ever foremost in commercial

improvements built a Durham boat in 1825, the first to navigate the waters of the Fox. The boat was equipped and loaded with a stock of goods for Fever river (now Galena) in the lead mine region, the idea being to reload with lead and bring it by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers to Green Bay. After one year's trial the scheme was abandoned as impracticable as the boat must be carried across the portage usually by ox team. The Durham boat of which much use was made on Fox river at an early day was built primarily to navigate streams with rapids and shallow water. It was of simple build, from forty-five to sixty feet in length, ten to twelve feet beam.

In building the first Durham Arndt had difficulty in procuring the right kind of lumber. "Plank was required from twenty to thirty feet long, both pine and oak. The mills of Brown county had not heretofore sawed lumber of that length, and a whip saw was the only resource. The timber was cut the proper lengths, hewn on two sides and by the use of two men and a whip saw made into lumber. In some of the old houses in this vicinity, whip sawed lumber can still be found, marking the days when sawmills were scarce and small. The principal propelling power of the Durham boat was the socket pole with a good strong man at the other end of it. The pole was made of the best and toughest white ash, fifteen feet long, one and a quarter inches in its largest part, and tapering to one and one-half inches at the top on which was placed a button to ease the pressure on the shoulder. The pocket was of iron, armed with a square steel point, well tempered and kept sharp. The ordinary oar was seldom used, although one for each man was provided in case of need. A mast, sail and oilcloths were a part of the outfit, beside a heavy block and tackle and a long tow line.

"The French voyageur with his batteau carrying a crew of ten or twelve men and not quite half the amount of freight transported in the Durham boat, looked askance at this marked innovation in river travel, and prophesied that the craft was 'too big' and they could not get her 'over the rapids' and so forth, but in the end the Durham won out and kept in the front until the steamboat on an improved river took its place." (Arndt, Fox River.)

Six men was the ordinary crew besides the captain or steersman. Three poles were set on each side of the boat, and the men quickly and deftly in regular order, by a twist of the wrist and the help of the right knee threw the pole into position, walked to the stern end of the boat, returned the pole, set again and became so proficient in its use that they easily covered the distance of three miles or a little more in one hour in a heavily loaded boat. The Durham boat became the accepted vehicle for transportation on the Fox until the "Aquila," the first steamboat of the Fox and Wisconsin improvement made its way through the chain of locks and amid general rejoicing landed at Green Bay.

The following is a record of the season's navigation in 1835, copied from day book of that date. List of boats entering and leaving Fox river in 1835:

May 22—Little sloop called Frances; Jesse Smith from Chicago, Captain Dillyoir.

June 8—The schooner Supply.

June 11—Steamboat Jefferson.

June 20—Sloop Frances; Schooner Ohio.

June 21—Steamboat Michigan.

- July 7—Steamer Uncle Sam; Schooner Jesse Smith; Schooner Detroit.
 July 8—Schooner Minerva; Schooner Marshall Ney.
 July 13—Steamboat U. S.
 July 23—Mariner & Brig Kinzie.
 July 24—Steamboat Michigan.
 July 26—Nancy Dousman and the New York; The Gen Warren.
 Aug. 11—Schooner Swan.
 Aug. 18—Marshall Ney.
 Aug. 20—The Bridget from Chicago; The Jesse Smith, Chicago; The Jefferson from Detroit; The Mariner; The Chancy, a small craft from Staten Island.
 Sept. 1—Steamboat Pennsylvania.
 Sept. 2—The New York.
 Oct. 10—The White Pigeon.
 Oct. 12—The Brig Kinzie; Steamer United States.
 Oct. 14—Sloop Frances.
 Oct. 15—Steamboat Monroe.
 Oct. 20—The Mariner.
 Oct. 21—The Detroit.
 Nov. 2—The Commerce.
 Nov. 7—The Gen. Harrison; Detroit from Mackinaw.

This list gives the class of boats navigating the bay and river as far as De Pere, up to the completion of the improvement, when steamboats as well as Durham boats were able to make the trip between Green Bay and Lake Winnebago.

The schooner was the mode of transportation for lumber on the bay. It is reported in a letter written in 1850, that the docks look busy, but that there is a strange lethargy brooding over the streets of Green Bay and De Pere. Fort Howard is reported as more lively, but the reason assigned for this lack of business energy and push is first, the great tracts of land including much of the town owned by the American Fur Company magnates and the heirs to their estates; second, the military lands owned by the government or by officers who have in former times been stationed at the garrison, by the prevailing inefficiency and sloth of the French Canadians who depended on fishing and hunting for a livelihood, and also to the very ease with which people could get food and fuel almost without money or price. A certain amount had been appropriated by the Fox River Improvement Company toward the building of docks, warehouses, barges and boats. Two freight barges of two hundred tons each were constructed, one freight propeller, of one hundred and forty tons and one steamer, the Aquila, of the largest size capable of navigating the river. In addition they report one barge as still on the stocks making an aggregate of nine hundred and forty tons ready for the season of 1855.

The exports from Green Bay in 1854, for the year were:

7,835,000 feet of lumber.....	\$70,680
2,236 barrels of fish.....	16,282
21,110,000 shingles.....	43,973
200 cords of bolts.....	1,000
100,000 feet of timber.....	6,000
4,383 bushels of wheat.....	5,483

162 casks of ashes (pearl).....	3,000
1,385 dozen pails.....	3,010
6,150 pounds of butter.....	1,230
950,000 lath.....	1,900
Produce (vegetables).....	3,000

From the bay shore was brought and shipped from the Green Bay port twenty-one million feet of lumber, and four thousand barrels of fish, making a total in valuation of \$180,000.

In 1856, five sail vessels of a morning might be seen on Fox river waiting for a favorable wind to take them to Chicago and Milwaukee. The Congress, India Undine, etc., all heavily laden with lumber. During the winter not a transportation line advertised, but early in the spring the boats bloomed out with new paint and attractive advertisements.

Between Buffalo and Green Bay "the splendid low pressure steamer Michigan, Captain A. Stewart in command," cleared alternately every two weeks from the port of Green Bay and Buffalo. John and Lewis Day were freight agents for this steamer, which probably ran for more years and was more familiar to the people of this part of the country than any boat that preceded or followed her. The Day Brothers did a lucrative transportation business, beside being dealers in fish and lumber. Docks were built by them, by the firm of Whitney & Goodell, and by other river and bay transportation companies.

Daniel M. Whitney's lines of boats were manifold during the '50s and early '60s and the Fox & Wisconsin Transportation Company under the management of Charles W. and William H. Green in 1856, seem to have been kept busy with a prosperous trade. Between Green Bay and Chicago ran the steamer Columbia, operated by the Days. With Captain Glazier in command, it plied regularly between those ports leaving the dock at Green Bay at seven in the evening every ten days, and on the Green line ran the Lorrimer and Cleveland for Chicago. On the river the Fannie Fisk made trips three times a week, and the Pioneer Aquila and Morgan L. Martin, all on the completion of the locks filled the tri-weekly schedule to Menasha. "Those with time can do no better than to put it in with Captain Whitney" was the slogan of the press notices of that day in recommending passenger traffic on the river. In war times the river boats Bay City, Fountain City and Berlin City, under the management of E. A. Buck, did a thriving business.

In February, 1862, the Appleton Belle a "little witch of a steamer" which used to run on the old Fox between Fond du Lac and Green Bay turned rebel and was burned on the Tennessee river on the approach of a Federal expedition.

Captain Loy of De Pere was a successful steamboat captain and manager for a number of years, and built not a few of the old time river steamboats. He was a popular captain in the steamboat line as well as in the army, and his boat, the Elwood Loy, was regarded as one of the smartest on the river. A much liked clerk on the river boats was Reuben Doud, with "his pseudo-comic countenance" who in after years became a wealthy lumberman.

The lodging house at one of the sparsely populated river ports is thus described: "The Captain would have been somewhat disappointed I reckon if he had seen that night how we warmed ourselves thankfully by the big fireplace



VIEW OF FOX RIVER, LOOKING NORTH

THE
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATION

which flanked one side of the house, casting a fitful light over the bed of the host and hostess, over the trundle bed of the little folks, over the dining table, cooking stove, the rifle on the mantel, the ladder that led to the upper floor, the watch dog that dozed on the hearth."

In 1867 the fine side wheelers Saginaw and George L. Dunlap, made daily trips to Escanaba, where connection was made with the Lake Superior branch of the Northwestern Railroad, which had been built from Marquette to that port. The Rocket and Comet commanded respectively by Captain George Gaylord and Captain Martin Lake were the favorite route to Buffalo during the warm weather.

Immediately after the close of the war, the steamer Swan, proving insufficient for the mail service, the Sarah Van Epps was pressed into the service. This steamer was built at Sorenson's shipyard on the west side of the river, and was familiarly spoken of by her crew and those acquainted with her peculiarities as "the Sally." Robert Campbell worked on her two seasons after his return home with the marching 12th. Traffic, both passenger and freight grew, the Sarah Van Epps was an uncertain jade, apt to balk when she had gone no farther than the Long Tail Point lighthouse. The Arrow was added to the list of transportation boats, not the pleasure boat under command of Captain John Dennison, that later took out the youth of the whole surrounding country on jolly excursions, but a narrow unserviceable craft.

The Goodrich Transportation Line in 1873, ran the Depere, Truesdell and Oconto, between Green Bay and Chicago, L. J. Day & Company, agents. Elmore and Kelly's Green Bay elevator at Fort Howard was doing a rushing business as agent of the Lake & River Transportation Company's line of propellers, for the Onondaga Salt Company and for the Green Bay Transit Company and various canal lines from Buffalo. Freight of all kinds was handled at the elevator in addition to grain, salt, lime and coal.

Thirty-two years after the list of exports for 1854 the record showed in 1886, 653 boats as arriving with a tonnage of 130,221 and 673 departing, having a tonnage of 133,403.

The port of Green Bay is a busy one. During the past year of 1912, the largest imports are hard and soft coal, barley and lumber. Exports barley, oats and lumber.

In 1912 the arrivals are 632, tonnage 483,608, departures 636, with a tonnage of 454,376. A large number of these are great coal barges that unload their sooty freight all along the river from Green Bay to De Pere. Fourteen coal laden boats discharged their cargoes at De Pere. During the past season the boats carried 11,172 tons of soft coal and 11,256 tons of hard coal. The total amount was 22,428 tons.

UPRIVER BUSINESS

The upriver business done consisted in handling 2,515,470 bushels of barley as imports, and 35,940 tons of soft coal, 8,694 tons of hard coal and 528 tons of cement as exports.

THE HART LINE

By Cyrus F. Hart of Oconto

"The first regular means of transportation between Oconto and Green Bay was established by Captain C. B. Hart, then a boy sixteen years of age. In 1841 his father Edwin Hart purchased a sailing vessel in Green Bay and loaded in it his family of eight children and his wife, their household effects, horses, a cow, a yoke of cattle and then they waited for a week for a fair wind to take them to their new home in the northern wilderness, where the head of the family was to open up a trading post. So one June day, when the wind blew fair they started for Oconto, made the voyage safely and landed there in June, 1841.

"When they reached Oconto the mouth of the river was almost choked with sawdust which had been driven in by a northeast wind and it was with difficulty that the family made a landing from the schooner's skiff which drew but a few inches of water. The mills at Oconto had then just recently been erected and at that time were allowed to dump their sawdust into the river which was carried out to the mouth of the stream and whenever there was a wind from the northeast, the refuse was blown back into the river choking its mouth and impeding navigation. There were three mills here at that time, a steam mill owned by Colonel Jones and two water mills up the river one owned by Colonel Jones also, and another by Mr. Hubbell. The only homes were rude shacks surrounding these places of industry and they were occupied by the mill hands.

"In those days the mills cut only the best of white pine from the most accessible places and the capacity of each mill was not more than from 10,000 to 12,000 per day. They were of course operated in the most primitive fashion and it was no trouble for a yoke of oxen to keep each mill clear of lumber. The lumber was piled on rafts and transferred with kedge anchors to the Chicago vessels that were anchored out in the bay to receive it. As many as forty-six sailing vessels would be anchored in the bay at one time in the early days. Later the lumber was towed out on the rafts by tugs. The site of the present city of Oconto was then a tamarack swamp whose intricacies were known only to its wild denizens and to the red man who hunted and trapped in its shady realm. In those days the howl of a wolf was a familiar sound while the screech of a locomotive was as yet unheard. The quavering cry of the loon echoed far across the waters of the bay and the whistling wings of the wild fowl traveling to and from their feeding grounds then assailed the ear rather than the varied and unharmonious noises of modern civilization. On the south side of the Oconto river there was a populous village of Menominees, scores of their cylindrical-shaped wigwams lining the bank of the stream. These wigwams were made of wild rushes woven together into matting by the squaws and they afforded ample protection from the inclement weather. Hundreds of birch bark canoes were moored to the south bank of the river swinging idly with the stream, scores of wigwams lined the river bank above, in irregular rows were the babies strapped to their carved and painted boards which served the Indian youngster for a cradle. In 1852, Captain Hart bought a two-masted open sail boat, and made trips between Oconto and Green Bay as often and as regularly as wind and weather permitted. He ran this boat for one year.

"In 1854 the Morgan L. Martin, a sidewheeler was put on between Oconto and Green Bay, and in 1855 the Pioneer came on in opposition.

"In 1855 the Queen City owned by John Jacobs of Marinette was put on between Marinette and Green Bay, going down one day and back the next. In 1856 or 1857 the Fannie Fisk, another sidewheeler was put on in opposition to the Queen City. This boat was afterward bought by the government and later was sunk in the Red river. In 1865 the steamer Union came to the Marinette-Green Bay route, the owners bought up the Queen City and the line was in operation up to the time that the Chicago & Northwestern filled in the gap between Green Bay and Escanaba in 1871.

"In 1866 the Hart line was established. The first boat of this line was the Oconto, and the next year the Northwest was put on and the line was maintained until the building of the railroad extension. This line was the basis of the present Hart system which operates between Green Bay and the Soo.

"Captain Henry W. Hart engaged in the boat business which was conducted by his father and two brothers, Captain C. B. Hart being one of the members of the firm and which was purchased by Henry and Cliff in 1864. The headquarters were at Oconto.

"In 1866 the business was sold, each brother running a side wheel tug and towing in and out of Oconto harbor. They built the steamer Northwest in 1868 which ran between Green Bay and Oconto, and later to Sturgeon Bay. She was burned at the Hurlbut docks in 1875. Captain H. Hart moved to Green Bay in 1871. The steamer Welcome was built in the winter of 1876 and in the fall of 1883 the C. W. Moore was purchased. In 1884 the steamboat offices were moved from Oconto to Green Bay, Captain C. B. Hart locating here. In 1888 the Fannie C. Hart was built, and in 1890 the Eugene. The Petoskey was also purchased and sold after two seasons. The City of Louisville was purchased in 1901 and rebuilt and rechristened the Harriet A. Hart, which was wrecked.

"The last three boats ran for many years on Green Bay and Lake Michigan routes between Green Bay city, bay points and as far north as Cheboygan, Michigan, and the Soo doing an extensive business. Captain Hart, when a boy of fourteen, shipped on board a lake vessel in the capacity of cook, from which humble position by energy and perseverance he rose step by step in the various experiences of a sailor's life, at the age of 18 (1864), becoming captain of his own ship, the steamer "Eagle." This vessel was built in Oshkosh and was rechristened in Oconto, running between Green Bay and Oconto for two seasons after which it carried both freight and passengers for a time and was then turned into a tug boat for raft towing.

"Hart's Steamboat Line was founded in 1873 with a capital of \$140,000 by H. and C. Hart, both able and experienced steamboat men. They built the May Queen in Green Bay and ran her on the old line for two seasons, afterward building the Northwest and rebuilding the May Queen, which was burned at the dock in this city in 1877. The Welcome and the C. W. Moore Henry Hart ran between Green Bay and Manistique until 1888, when the Fannie C. was built which has since run between Green Bay and Cheboygan, Michigan. This boat was remodeled in 1890. The Eugene was built in 1890 and ran on the same route as the Fannie C."

The transportation lines with offices in Green Bay are the Arnold Transit Company, Denessen Line, Hart Transportation Company, and Nau's Tug Line.

HARBOR

The entrance to Fox river was originally obstructed by three long shallow sand bars. The first as boats entered from the north was known as Long Tail Point, projecting from the west shore south easterly about four miles. At the end of this bar as it existed in 1848, the old stone tower was erected and still stands. The second bar about one mile south known as Point au Sable projected from the east shore southwesterly about five miles overlapping the Tail Point bar.

Next south was Grass Island extending from the west shore nearly six miles easterly. When the straight cut was made, it was a large island nearly covered with cottonwood and willow trees, some over two feet in diameter, and was a favorite camping and picnic ground for the residents of Green Bay and vicinity.

After the "straight cut" was made the island was gradually washed away by the diverted action of tides and waves.

In entering the harbor in old times navigators were obliged to steer southwest to pass the north side of Point au Sable bar, turn sharply around its west end and and steer southeast for about two miles along the north shore of Grass Island. Then turn sharply around the east end of island and follow its south shore about two miles, then a westerly direction south for the mouth of the river. The channel forming a letter S around the sand bars.

The earliest plan for the improvement of the harbor was presented in 1853, by Major J. D. Graham and proposed the excavation of a channel from the mouth of Fox river through Grassy Island.

In the winter of 1864-65 the first diagram of distances and soundings at the mouth of Fox river and head of Green Bay across Grass Island was made at the request of Andrew E. Elmore who was then in Washington working to obtain an appropriation from Congress for the improvement of the harbor.

James H. Elmore with Captain A. Taylor in January, 1865, made a careful survey of distances and took soundings preparatory for making an estimate for dredging a channel between the channels at that time existing on both sides of the island. The following letter with diagram was sent on January 9, 1865, to Andrew E. Elmore, of Fort Howard, at Washington, and formed the basis for the amount of appropriation later asked for and received from government.

"Enclosed I send you draft of distances and soundings at the mouth of the river as you desire.

"The water was low the day we took the measurement and consequently could only get eleven feet of water on the south side of the island, as you will see by the chart.

"The bottom of the channel however is mud and propellers drawing eleven and one-half and twelve feet of water could get along.

"The long line on the diagram is the straight cut we have talked of and is more direct than that to the east which is about two thousand four hundred and seventy-five feet shorter and I think more feasible.

"We took our measurements each way from the center of the island and the figures each side denote the distance in feet from that point—and the small figures the depth of water."

The route suggested by this letter of J. H. Elmore's was later adopted by the government engineers and was the basis on which the original estimates were made.

In April, 1866, the petition was brought before congress for an appropriation of \$30,500 for the improvement of the harbor at the mouth of Fox river and Major J. B. Wheeler of the United States Engineer corps presented estimates for dredging a channel two hundred feet wide and twelve feet deep from the mouth of the river to deep water north of Grass Island, together with the revetment of the cut through the island.

In May, 1867, work was commenced and was pushed so successfully that in September the "Queen City" passed through.

Since then large amounts have been expended in dredging, repairs to piers, docking and so forth, until Green Bay has one of the best harbors on the lakes.

Grass Island light station has a light at each end of the cut; the lower visible thirteen the upper twelve and one-half miles. Both lights are a fixed white light of the sixth order. The keeper's frame dwelling is situated on the island between the outer and inner lights and is a snug dwelling painted white with green blinds and a red roof. The cut is two hundred feet wide and is protected by close-piling. Tail Point Lighthouse northeast two and three-fourths miles, Point au Sable four and one-tenth miles.

Numerous buoys mark the channel from Grass Island and up Fox river. A black spar buoy marks the end of the spit which extends in a westerly direction three and one-half miles from Sable point, the old Indian camping ground, and shows the route taken by all sailing vessels before the cut was made through Grass Island.

Long Tail Point is situated five and one-half miles north-northeast from the mouth of Fox river, and about four miles northeast from the mouth of Duck Creek. Bids were received in 1847 for the construction of the old stone tower which has been a landmark for many years. It was built in 1848. The tower was surmounted by an iron lantern and the house of the keeper of the light was only a few feet to the north, and also built of stone. This lighthouse was abandoned in 1859 and a new one of frame erected, twenty-seven feet square, three stories high, the ground sills from which the lower timbers rise resting upon iron piles eight feet apart. The light surmounting the tower was a fixed white light of the fourth order, the local plane sixty feet above the water with a visibility of about fifteen miles. The present Tail Point light station stands about nine-tenths mile from old Long Tail Point Lighthouse, east. It is a fixed light fourth order visible fourteen miles. The lantern is on the top of a timber dwelling fifty-six feet high, standing on the westerly side of the channel. The fog signal is a bell struck by machinery at intervals of ten seconds. Distance from the Grassy Island lower lighthouse is one and fifteen-sixteenths miles.

Big Suamico river is three miles from Long Tail Point Light. Vessels load here at anchor, and there is good holding ground. A pulp wood dock has been built here. The east side of the bay is rocky, with poor anchorage. At Red

Banks, Point Comfort and Bay Beach piers have been built where excursion boats land in bringing guests to these popular resorts.

The following paper on the old Stone tower was read before the Green Bay Historical Society by T. P. Silverwood.

"Extending from the town of Suamico in a southeasterly direction out into the waters of Green Bay, is a long, low narrow point of sand—a sand bar in fact—below the water in places, extending out of the water a few feet in other places. This bar is called Long Tail Point, and upon it stands the old stone tower light house. Concerning it there is not very much information to be unearthed, and in gathering what little is available we have become impressed with the fact that the person who intends to write history should also prepare to write fiction and gather the materials for both works at the same time.

"The old tower was erected in the summer and fall of 1847. This date will not be accepted without question. Bella French in her history of Brown county says it was erected in 1848, but gives no authority for the statement. William Whitcomb of this city, who helped to build it when a boy of fifteen, says it was erected in 1847, and Captain C. B. Hart agrees with him as to that date. It was first used in 1848, and we think Bella French and the older people of Green Bay generally date its erection from the first year it was used. It was the first light at this end of the Bay, and was used as a light house until 1859, when the frame light house was erected and the use of the stone tower discontinued.

"At the time of its erection it stood near the southeast point of the bar, or that part which was above water. The bar extended almost out to the new light house as it does at present, but very little of it was above water. At its base the tower is nearly twenty-five feet in diameter, and its walls between five and six feet thick. Its diameter and the thickness of its walls gradually decrease until at the top they are respectively eight or ten feet and about two feet. It is built upon nothing but sand, with the foundation about six feet below the surface, and its height was eighty-four feet to the stone cap beneath the lantern. The tower and small frame building near it, erected at the same time, for a house for the light keeper, were built by Edwin and Asahel Hart (the father and uncle respectively of Captains C. B. and H. W. Hart), who were subcontractors, having contracted with the original contractors, who were Detroit parties, to build the tower and light keeper's house. Edwin Hart did much of the work himself, Daniel W. Hubbard had charge of the mason work.

"The stone was brought across the bay from the east shore at Bay Settlement on a scow. Its crew was composed principally of French Canadians and half-breeds who propelled it by means of walking poles. They would leave the point early in the morning, pole their scow across the bay and get her loaded with ten or twelve cords of stone before 9 o'clock the following morning, and reach the point again late that night. Their course skirted the east shore and along Point Sable, then across the bay, keeping in about six feet of water. The stone in the tower is of all shapes and sizes. It was picked up along the shore, some of it pulled out of two or three feet of water and some gathered from the surface of the soil near by, but none of it was quarried except the cap stones just below the lantern, which were probably brought from Death's Door on a schooner. The lime was procured at Bay Settlement, and there was plenty of sand on the point.

Captain C. B. Hart was a boy eight years of age at the time and helped to erect the tower. Not being in love with school, he played truant and his father, after a judicious application of the rod, set him to work driving the horse around the capstan by means of which the stone and mortar were hauled to the top of the wall with a rope.

"The first keeper of the light in the old tower was John P. Dousman, who was afterwards revenue collector at Green Bay. He was the light keeper until 1853, when he was succeeded by Thomas Atkinson, who had recently arrived from Ireland, and who kept the light until 1859, being the last light keeper in the stone tower. The frame light house was erected in 1859 and the stone tower abandoned. Captain C. B. Hart says the reason for this was that the water of the bay had risen so much that it surrounded the tower completely, and the authorities were afraid that the water would undermine it and cause it to fall.

"The frame lighthouse was kept for one season by David Fleury, who was succeeded by Sergeant John Hamm, a soldier who had been in the service at Fort Howard. His term of enlistment had expired and he was discharged and given the position of light keeper. After him came Marcus Shaler, and then in 1863 William Mitchell, the father of Mrs. Theodore Harris of Green Bay, accepted the position which he held for many years, and he was succeeded by Captain Gaylord.

"In the early '70s the United States government authorities apparently thinking the tower was an eyesore to Green Bay, gave it to Mr. Mitchell to be torn down. He accepted it for the stone that was in it and commenced the work of destruction, but although it was builded on the sands, it was there to stay, and Mr. Mitchell found it impervious to bar and pick. It is hoped that no act of man will disturb it. The old tower was the first light house at this end of the bay. It stands like a grim old sentinel, its appearance and surroundings eloquent with memories of the past. It serves to remind us of the last half century, and the hardy seamen who have striven for the welfare of this city and to build up a commerce that should make it an important lake port. May it stand for centuries to come as a monument to these men who first sailed the waters of Green Bay."

(References for Chapter XXV: Railroads: Green Bay Advocate, 1858; Journal of Board of Supervisors; Bay City Press, 1861-2; Records of Borough of Fort Howard; James H. Elmore, Hist. of Northern Wisconsin. Harbor: Arthur C. Neville, James H. Elmore, Scott, Coast Pilot. Mails: Wis. Hist. Colls. Vol. 2, 15; Green Bay Advocate, 1846-56; Report of Green Bay Postoffice. Water transportation: LaHontan Travels; Arndt. "The Valley of the Fox;" Green Bay Advocate, Bay City Press, Cyrus F. Hart.)

CHAPTER XXVI

BROWN COUNTY TOWNS

The difficulty of finding records renders it impossible to give anything like a complete sketch of Brown county cities and towns from their first organization, the only town whose records are preserved complete from the date of its incorporation being the town of Howard.

Eleven years previous to the first recorded meeting of the county board of supervisors and in pursuance of the act entitled "an act to provide for the government of the several towns in this Territory of Wisconsin," the town of Howard, which at that time included all that part of Brown county lying between the Menominee river on the north and the present town of De Pere on the south, organized a town board.

The borough form of government which began in Green Bay in 1838, two years after Wisconsin Territory was formed, provided for a president and six trustees, who administered the affairs of the village up to the time of its incorporation as a city in 1854. All the records of the Green Bay borough prior to November 19, 1853, were burned in a destructive fire which occurred in Green Bay, November 6, 1853. There are no records to be found of town government in De Pere previous to its incorporation as a village in 1857, so the only records remaining of the years of territorial and early state government in Brown county are comprised in the "Records of the Town of Howard," which date back to April 5, 1842, when "a meeting was called to order between the hours of nine and eleven a. m., at the house of Daniel W. Hubbard in the town of Howard." Hubbard's house stood on the slough which extends from Fox river to Duck creek, and enters the river just south of the Duncan coal docks. (Notes by Charles Wheelock.)

The minutes of this first meeting according to the new law show that Josiah Baldwin was chosen moderator, and D. W. Hubbard, clerk. "The moderator and clerk being duly sworn the meeting was adjourned until 3:00 o'clock P. M. At 3:00 o'clock P. M. the meeting met according to the adjournment, proclamation being made at the door according to the law." (Book of town records for the township of Howard, 1842.)

The verbal proclamation giving notice that the county or town board was about to convene was in use in Brown county for many years, and can still be found in practice in small places where no regular newspaper is published. Throughout the length and breadth of Brown county there was at that time but one newspaper, the Green Bay Republican, edited by Samuel Ryan, Jr., and other parts of Wisconsin were quite as destitute of printed news. For this reason a law had been passed on February 1, 1833, ordering that all legal notices should be "posted on the door of the house where the circuit court was last held." This

law was carried out at De Pere, the county seat, but in case of a meeting such as that of the town board of Howard, proclamation of official business was made by the town crier, usually the constable, who stood before the place of meeting and called, "Oyez, Oyez, Oyez, the honorable board of supervisors of the town of Howard in the county of Brown is now in session."

The members of the Howard town board in the month of April, 1842, were: Chairman, Samuel Ryan, Sr.; Joseph Paquette, Josiah Baldwin; town clerk, E. B. Sherwood; commissioners on highways, Dominick Brunette, E. B. Abbott, D. W. Hubbard; assessor, E. B. Abbott; treasurer, Solomon Davis; path masters, Dominick Brunette, Jr., Henry Fry; constables, Preston Beebe, Josiah Baldwin; fence viewers, Joseph Paquette, Dominick Brunette, Jr., Peter T. Fredman.

The office of fence viewer, now obsolete, was of importance in the year 1841. Through the streets of the three villages in Brown county cows and horses more or less wild roamed at will and pigs wallowed in the muddy puddles. Not until 1842 did a pound and the office of pound master come into use. The enforcement of this ordinance did much to better conditions, for five dollars was the fine for allowing dangerous animals to wander abroad. The "commons," however, were still exempt, and over these wide tracts of open treeless prairie and through the adjoining forest still roamed great droves of unherded cattle.

The overseers of highways in these several towns also acted as fence viewers. All fences were to be, according to law, four and one-half feet in height, whether consisting of rails, timber, boards or stone walls, or any combination thereof, and all brooks, rivers, ponds, creeks, ditches, or other things which shall be equivalent thereto. The vexed question of boundary lines might also be decided by the fence viewer; each person employing him was to pay \$1.00 per day for his services, and his judgment in these matters was usually accepted as legal and sufficient.

At this first meeting of the town board of Howard it was resolved that all fences in that town should go a half foot higher than the law required and must be five feet in height to be a lawful fence; the fence viewer was to notify the board of any deviation from this rule, and was also to report when fences were not kept in good repair. The office of the fence viewer seems to have been abolished after 1850.

The opening up of new roads through the county, the building and repair of bridges, the improvement for navigation of Fox river, the provision for the housing and care of the poor were all matters that came under the jurisdiction of the town board rather than that of the county until after 1848. Taxation throughout the territory had not yet been adjusted, and in Brown county, which was always an independent quantity, no regular tax was levied until 1833. The school taxes of 1838-40 created much dissatisfaction, and for a time were made optional with each community. In 1842 Howard voted a tax of three-fourths of one per cent on the amount of the inhabitant's assessed property. All taxes seemed to have been considered exorbitant, and were loudly complained of and criticized by the pioneers; the expenses of the annual legislative session aroused special antagonism, one per cent of the entire valuation of the territory in 1844 being expended in this way. The machinery of county government in Brown was tardily established, and each town felt competent to manage its own affairs.



VILLA OF BISHOP FOX, ALLOUEZ



BAIRD'S CREEK, TOWN OF PREBLE

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

The first systematic attempt toward the repair and upkeep of roads was made in April, 1844, and shows the extent of the town of Howard at that date. It was agreed at a meeting of the Howard board that the town be divided for the more convenient making and repairing of the public roads into five road districts; to include all of the inhabitants "between the first east and west section line north of the Oconto river, and the Menominee river in the town of Howard, county of Brown."

Marston's creek and the creek known as Tippy's creek, which empties into Green Bay north of Little Suamico, were also boundary lines for road districts.

The path master's office had disappeared when the laws of 1849 were published, so that it is difficult to say just what his duties were. The paths through Brown county were more numerous than the roads, for Indian trails threaded the forests in every direction. The only two roads opened up at that time through the county were the military roads; one running to Fort Winnebago at the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin, the other by way of Manitowoc and the lake shore to Milwaukee and Chicago. These roads were repaired by the soldiers from the lake forts, and it was at least ten years, 1859 or 1860, before the county assumed the upkeep of these government roads. (Town records.)

In September, 1844, an appropriation of one hundred dollars was made toward the repair of roads and bridges by the Howard board. A bridge was ordered to be built immediately across Ashwaubenon creek, a makeshift affair, which a few years later collapsed with a Hollander and his team, sprightly mention of which is made in the Bay City Press of that date. The roads to Duck Creek and Bay Settlement were largely a heavy sand, through which horses and oxen toiled laboriously in hauling produce to river ports, but in other parts of Brown county and towards the Oneida Reservation a corduroy was the only help in preventing teams from sinking to unimagined depths.

The record of the doings of the Howard board reflects the methods of administration for all three of the villages then in existence in Brown county. Meetings were held once a month and for many years either at the house of Daniel Hubbard or at that of John Hogarty who lived not far away. After the death of the latter some time in the forties the board rented a room from the Widow Hogarty for the sum of five dollars a year, which paid for the fuel.

The system of a limited number of county commissioners still appealed strongly to other parts of Wisconsin Territory where settlement had not increased as in Brown county, but the law providing that the chairman of the town board act also as a county supervisor, thus securing equal representation, received strenuous support from Brown. In January, 1845, the bill again coming before the legislature, the Howard board of supervisors resolved: "That the petition circulated especially in Green Bay praying the legislature of Wisconsin for a repeal of the law establishing the township system of government, would if repealed be detrimental to the small towns in the county of Brown, giving them no proper representation on the county board—besides we are opposed to the vacillation of constantly making and repealing laws. And also we would state that the inhabitants of Howard are altogether in favor of the present system and opposed to being thrown back on the county commission system—and request our representatives to oppose the prayer of said petition."

The list of voters in Howard as given in 1842 included the names of David

Jones, the Dominick Brunettes, father and son, Prentice Beebe, Samuel Ryan, Joseph Paquette, D. W. Hubbard, Josiah Baldwin and E. B. Sherwood.

Samuel Ryan, chairman of the Howard board of supervisors from 1842 to 1857, was one of the town's earliest residents, having come to Fort Howard with the first troops in 1816. He resigned from the army and became an active and sterling worker in the new town. His son, Samuel Ryan, Jr., was also closely identified with the life of Fort Howard and Green Bay. He was prominent throughout the state as an able newspaper man, edited when very young one of Green Bay's first newspapers, the Republican, and later became the founder and incorporator of the Appleton Crescent (1846).

During the forties, continuously, Lemuel Tyler acted as clerk until April 6, 1847, followed in order by Samuel Ryan, Jr., A. G. Pullman, Thomas M. Camm and James Ryan. Edson B. Sherwood's last entry is April 3, 1843.

From time to time the place of meeting was changed and rent to the amount of five dollars a year was occasionally paid for the use of a member's house, fire, etc. The office of constable required an oath of office as being a responsible position.

In May, 1850, the Howard board made an agreement with John P. Arndt for the erection of a bridge over the first creek south of Fort Howard, and further on in the year, Colonel Samuel Ryan with Dr. Uriah H. Peak, as road commissioners, spent a day pleasantly and profitably in surveying a road from the ferry which ran across the river from Cherry street to the termination of the bridge. The labors of the worthy commissioners on that May day is perpetuated in the meanderings of Pearl street.

On July 1, 1850, it was resolved by the board that the school monies belonging to the town of Howard be divided equally between the several districts in the same town, there being supposed to be about \$128, more or less, in the hands of the town treasurer applicable to school purposes, viz: \$42.66 2-3 to each district. Thomas M. Camm, clerk.

In 1856 the county board passed a resolution to the effect that "Fort" should be inserted and precede "Howard" when the settlement was named. An act to incorporate the borough of Fort Howard was passed in February, 1856, and approved by Governor Bashford October 13th of that year.

The notice of the first borough election is thus given: "Whereas by an act of the legislators of the state of Wisconsin, approved October 13, 1856, the borough of Fort Howard was made a corporate borough. Therefore, take notice that an election of the officers of said borough consisting of a president, six trustees, a treasurer, superintendent of common schools, two constables, one assessor and two justices of the peace, will be held at the village schoolhouse in said town on Saturday, the first day of November next. Signed—Oscar Gray, Dexter Gray, Willard Lamb, John Gray, D. W. Hubbard, Thomas M. Camm."

John Tiernan declared on oath that he had posted a notice of which the annexed was a copy on three public places in the borough of Fort Howard.

The election for borough officers was held at the village schoolhouse on the day designated and the poll list of fifty-six years ago is an interesting one, fifty-four in all, and includes some of the most sterling of the men of Brown county: D. W. Hubbard, P. W. Gregg, O. Gray, S. M. Durand, T. J. Bailey, D. I. Hubbard, E. A. Cooley, Hiram Hubbard, Dennis McCarty, Patrick Burns, G. Leittel, M. Despins, M. Vanifleck, J. A. Beattie, J. C. Fox, D. Hunt, M. S. Shaler, F.

Blesch, W. Pamperin, P. Supey, W. B. Smith, Garret Doyle, John Tiernan, F. Yeates, John Gray, Otto VanStreland, Jn. Chadwick, H. I. Hoffman, John Jeffreys, Charles Rossiter, C. W. Tremain, J. S. Fisk, E. Crocker, Chas. Brahne, Geo. Aull, Hendrick Ernits, H. C. Taylor, John Finnegan, Myron Graves, Theodore Kemnitz, Anton Zeus, Jas. Faulkner, Wm. Knowles, S. Hudson, T. M. Camm, W. Baker, T. McDonough, B. Gillett, Wm. Miller, T. O'Keefe, D. W. Bromley, R. Chappell, W. E. Peak, John Doran, J. Callighan, J. Noeeder, D. S. Davies, Jas. Potter, P. Hendricksen, B. Redman, John Slat, M. Earny, E. Hunt, J. Nepert, N. M. Stone, J. Wolfarth, Charles Dodge, W. Persons, W. Taylor, M. Smith, E. Brahme, Dexter Grey, H. W. Peak, T. VanLaanen, F. Hoeilmich, T. Hanrahan, E. Shaler, H. VanLaanen, M. Barlement, M. Hanrahan, C. E. Dubois, J. Anderson.

The first officers elected were: Robert Chappell, president, and trustees, Daniel W. Hubbard, William J. Fisk, Charles Rossiter, Thomas J. Bailey, Francis Blesch and Oscar Gray; superintendent of schools, U. H. Peak; treasurer, James A. Beattie; assessor, James Callighan; E. A. Cooley and H. C. Taylor, justices of the peace; William Knowles and D. J. Hubbard, constables; E. A. Cooley, clerk of the borough.

The boundaries of Fort Howard in the town of Howard, county of Brown, are included within the following limits and boundaries, to-wit: Commencing at a point on the channel bank of Fox river one mile below or down said river, of the north line of Private Claim Lot No. 2 of the west side of Fox river, thence one mile westwardly parallel with the said north line of Private Claim No. 2; thence one mile at right angles with said last line to the north line of said Private Claim No. 2; thence by and along the channel bank of Fox river, thence along said channel bank to the place of beginning, is hereby created into a borough corporate and shall be known and designated as the borough of Fort Howard.

The original size of the borough covered by the charter was just one mile square and exact rules for its government are given. In many ways the Fort Howard borough had shown itself, even at an early day, a progressive business place. Its proximity to a military reservation in a measure handicapped its growth and independence, but as the influence of the garrison was withdrawn the inhabitants showed themselves well equipped to take up the reins of government. Within a few years it became a manufacturing center. One of the earliest and most solid industries was the Fort Howard foundry, being established in 1856, with Otto Tank as president.

The first large brewery was erected by Francis Blesch in 1858, where the best of beer was manufactured; the earliest one being that built by Philip Hannon on the east shore of the bay, just south of the old stone dock.

The story of Otto Tank, and his first coming to Fort Howard in 1850, has been often told and the glamour of romance now surrounds this incident in the life of the town. The distinguished families in Norway and Holland to which both Tank and his wife belonged, the choice household furnishings that transformed the little log cabin on the banks of the river where they made their home into a veritable bit of enchanted ground, even the foreign oddities of dress and manner rendered them conspicuous in the little community to which they immigrated sixty-three years ago. The colony of Scandinavians who came to this

western town under Tank's auspices formed an industrious and thrifty addition to the population of the newly created borough.

Velp, in the town of Howard, is Duck Creek's business center. The early settlers were the Corniers, Lewins, Burdons, Pamperins, Brunettes, Landwehr, Pringles and others.

When the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad came to the town and a large elevator, docks, fish warehouses, and mills were built the wealth of the place increased rapidly.

GREEN BAY

Nov. 19, 1853—An adjourned regular meeting of the board of trustees for the borough of Green Bay was held this day at 7:00 o'clock P. M. Baron S. Doty, president, and George O. Haywood, R. P. Harriman, Louis Hoeffel and Dr. D. C. Ayers, trustees, and S. S. Johnston, marshal, were present. The clerk reported that at the fire on the 1st inst., his office was consumed and in it the records, papers and seal belonging to the borough of Green Bay were lost. The reading of the minutes of last meeting were consequently dispensed with.

JOHN V. SUYDAM, Clerk.

Jan. 3, 1854—H. S. Baird elected president to succeed Baron Steuben Doty. South ward was represented by Orlo B. Graves, Louis Hoeffel, D. C. Ayers; the North ward by Washington Parish, Daniel H. Whitney, Paul Fox.

S. S. JOHNSTON, Marshal.

Jan. 7—John P. Arndt, chairman of the committee of the old board on drafting a city charter, reported in part, and asked for further time, which was granted. On motion it was resolved that H. S. Baird, Esq., president, be appointed a committee to whom shall be referred the city charter for revision. The clerk stated that he had procured a new seal for the borough, a fac simile of the one burned, of which the impression hereto annexed is a true copy, at a cost of \$5.00, whereupon it was ordered that the sum of \$5.00 be allowed for the seal.

Jan. 14—Resolved that each and every member of this board who shall be absent ten minutes after the time appointed for the holding of any meeting shall pay a fine of fifty cents and if the clerk shall be absent as aforesaid he shall be fined \$1.00.

The meetings of the board shall be held on the first Monday evening in each month at 6:00 o'clock.

Daniel Butler, Esq., treasurer of the Green Bay, De Pere & Kaukauna Plank Road Co., reported that \$1,000 in bonds issued to the Green Bay & De Pere Co., and \$1,600 issued to the Green Bay & Kaukauna, together with \$1,400 issued to secure payment of first year's interest on said bonds were destroyed by fire in the store of said Butler on the 1st of November last, making the amount destroyed by the fire \$18,400.

Green Bay & Kaukauna Plank Road Company.

Green Bay & Tacheedah Plank Road Company.

Green Bay & De Pere Plank Road Company.

Mar. 18, 1854—Committee reported not to put repairs on East river bridge and recommended the construction of a float bridge. Marshal be required to immedi-

ately bar each end of said bridge and to put up notice thereon, forbidding all persons from crossing the same.

Affidavit of D. Butler that bonds were actually consumed and destroyed and order to replace same.

First meeting of the Green Bay city council, May 6, 1854, at 2:00 P. M., the aldermen met at the town hall pursuant to the provisions of the city charter. Present—Francis Desnoyers, John Day, Paul Fox, Amos Saunders, North ward; and John P. Arndt, Frederick A. Lathrop, Louis Carabin and Charles Leclair from the South ward.

On motion the meeting was organized by the appointment of John P. Arndt, chairman, and then was adjourned to the engine house.

On motion the aldermen then proceeded to elect a president by ballot. John P. Arndt was elected.

On motion it was resolved that the board proceed to canvass the votes given in the North and South wards for mayor, treasurer and superintendent of schools. W. C. E. Thomas having received 126 votes was elected mayor against D. Agry, 40 votes, and Baron S. Doty, 30 votes; treasurer, Burley Follett; superintendent of schools, Daniel Butler.

On motion the president appointed Messrs. Desnoyers, Saunders and Day, a committee to conduct the mayor-elect to the chair, which being done the mayor addressed the council with appropriate remarks and recommendations relative to the organization of the city and the future government of its officers.

John P. Arndt offered a code of rules and regulations. The vote on passage of ordinances was taken by yeas and nays. Ordinances passed.

John P. Arndt, street commissioner for South ward for 1853, made a report showing that for the repairs and improvement of streets and bridges, \$225.84 had been expended. Amount collected in taxes, etc., \$227.25, leaving a balance of \$1.41. Saturday evening, June 17, 1854, a float bridge was ordered built across East river. That same evening, \$10.00 was appropriated to defray the expense of sending to Taycheedah to obtain information relative to the Green Bay & Taycheedah Plank Road Co. Nathan Goodell was elected or appointed street commissioner.

Thus was accomplished the successful organization and incorporation of the city of Green Bay, which is now, in the year 1913, regarded as one of the foremost commercial towns in Wisconsin. The records of the common council from the first assembling in the old engine house, which was later, it is said, moved from its position on Washington street to the triangular space formed by Washington, Adams and Chicago streets, is a history that contains much interesting reading and the different methods of procedure and the gradual evolution of the little country town, its consolidation with Fort Howard in 1895, and its rapid growth in wealth and importance is a gratifying tribute to the men who at various times have been at the head of city government.

The first policeman was appointed under date of December 7, 1854. Petition from citizens of Green Bay (unanimously signed) asking for the appointment of a watch, as a more efficient protection against the danger of fire. On motion of Alderman Arndt, the marshal was authorized to deliver the fire engine to any fire company that may be organized before the next regular meeting of the council. Previous to that time a volunteer fire company had been organized with

Charles D. Robinson as chief; W. P. Knapp, 1st assistant, and Israel Green, 2d assistant.

Following this action of the city council, Germania Fire Company No. 1 was organized, followed almost immediately by Guardian No. 2. It is presumed that the Germania was given the custody of the primitive fire engine, for in February, 1855, there is a petition presented signed by firemen and the secretary of Germania No. 1, asking for an appropriation of \$1.00 per day to pay for keeping up a fire in the engine house.

The ferry at the foot of Cherry street had been leased by Carlton B. Wheelock, who for years paid the sum of \$25.00 per year for the privilege, his assistant being August Spiersneider, and the old gray horse who turned the windlass of the chain, was so faithful in his duty that when turned out to graze he would only allow himself a few moments of respite, then, no matter how tempting the feed, would begin to walk the weary round. Captain Wheelock reports that he ran the ferry at a loss during the year 1855, as he had not been able to effect a landing on the opposite shore as there was no street corresponding to Cherry on the west side of the river and he was obliged to purchase land for a landing place.

An ordinance of April 3, 1855, ordains that every white male inhabitant within the city of Green Bay above the age of twenty-one years or under the age of fifty, for the year 1855, shall be taxed to labor on the streets within the limits of the city for one day, or pay the sum of seventy-five cents for a substitute.

The first recommendation for a plank road on Washington street was filed on July 30, 1856, and the work was later intrusted to J. Wallace Arndt and Charles R. Tyler at the price of \$50.00 per rod. This was the first street improvement commenced in any Brown county town.

LIST OF MAYORS OF GREEN BAY

The mayors of Green Bay from its incorporation in 1854, are:

1854—W. C. E. Thomas.	1872—Charles D. Robinson.
1855—Francis Desnoyers.	1873—Alonzo Kimball.
1856—Harry E. Eastman.	1874—Charles E. Crane.
1857—Harry E. Eastman.	1875—Charles E. Crane.
1858—Burley Follett.	1876—Fred S. Ellis.
1859—Nathan Goodell.	1877—Charles E. Crane.
1860—E. Holmes Ellis.	1878—Charles E. Crane.
1861—Henry S. Baird.	1879—Charles E. Crane.
1862—Henry S. Baird.	1880—John C. Neville.
1863—Burley Follett.	1881—William J. Abrams.
1864—Nathan Goodell.	1882—J. H. M. Wigman.
1865—Myron P. Lindsley.	1883—William J. Abrams.
1866—Charles D. Robinson.	1884—William J. Abrams.
1867—James S. Marshall.	1885—Charles Hartung.
1868—Anton Klaus.	1886—Charles Hartung.
1869—Anton Klaus.	1887—Charles Hartung.
1870—Anton Klaus.	1888—Arthur C. Neville.
1871—Alonzo Kimball.	1889—Arthur C. Neville.



DE PERE IN 1856
From an oil painting



GREEN BAY IN 1856
From an oil painting



1890—James H. Elmore.
 1891—James H. Elmore.
 1892—James H. Elmore.
 1893—James H. Elmore.
 1894—James H. Elmore.
 1895—James H. Elmore.
 1896—Frank B. Desnoyers.
 1897—Frank B. Desnoyers.
 1898—Frank B. Desnoyers.
 1899—Simon J. Murphy.
 1900—Simon J. Murphy.
 1901—Simon J. Murphy.

1902.—Joseph H. Taylor.
 1903—Joseph H. Taylor.
 1904—Robert E. Minchan.
 1905—Robert E. Minchan.
 1906—Robert E. Minchan.
 1907—Robert E. Minchan.
 1908—Winford Abrams.
 1909—Winford Abrams.
 1910—Winford Abrams.
 1911—Winford Abrams.
 1912—Winford Abrams.

De Pere was incorporated as a village, March 6, 1857, although the first plat of the town was made under authority of the De Pere Hydraulic Company in 1835. In 1837, by a vote of the people of Brown county, De Pere became the county seat and a courthouse was built on the northeast corner of Wisconsin and George streets.

From its first organization it became important from the usefulness or utility of its waterpower, the legislative council of Michigan authorizing William Dickenson, Charles Tullar, and John P. Arndt to build a dam across the Fox river at the head of the rapids in said river, called Rapide Des Peres, in the county of Brown, to erect a mill, or in any other manner to make use of the waterpower created thereby, and to build wharves, warehouses and other buildings, either below or above the dam. On the 8th day of September following, the same parties, with six others, entered into articles of association for the purpose of building said dam, and on the 3rd day of December, 1836, the council and house of representatives of the territory of Wisconsin, incorporated them under the name of the Fox River Hydraulic Company. The following summer, they commenced building their dam and making other improvements.

On the 10th day of March, 1838, the company issued a report and prospectus in which they say: "Eighteen months ago, where stood a solitary dwelling, is now the seat of justice of Brown county, with a splendid court house, jail, a three-story public house, a schoolhouse, postoffice, warehouse and dock, one store, one grocery, one blacksmith shop, one cabinet shop and twenty-eight dwelling houses, some of which are the most splendid and best buildings in the territory."

The allusion to the splendor of the De Pere residences at this date probably refers primarily to the beautiful house built by the founder of the city, William Dickenson. It was a spacious and noble dwelling, according to the testimony of contemporaneous writers. The following description of the old house was given in a paper: De Pere flashed upon our vision like a dream of fairyland; though in early spring the earth had already spread its carpet of green, dotted here and there by beautiful wild flowers, and the birds were already singing of summer, 'Dickenson's Folly' stood like a grand old castle—in ruins and deserted. We got out of the wagon and walked around the castle, in front of which stood a locust tree apparently many years old." The

great pillars of this colonial mansion were placed on the porch of the large house built afterward by Captain John Cotton on the heights of Beaupre.

The village officers elected on the incorporation of the village were:

President—Randall Wilcox.

Village Clerk—James T. Reeve.

Board of Trustees—William Field, Jr., John O. Roorback, Thomas C. Morgan, John F. Lessey, Gustave S. Marsh, Edwin C. Merrill.

Village Treasurer—Joseph Keiper.

Village Marshal—William P. Call.

Constable—William Armstrong.

Superintendent—John F. Lessey.

No record can be found of the government prior to 1857, although a town board, as in the town of Howard, probably existed.

De Pere, while still the county seat, is thus described as destined to become the great commercial emporium of the western lakes. "Here commences the grand improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers—here must be made the trans-shipment from lake vessels and steamers to a smaller class of steamboats, plying from this point to St. Louis, on the Mississippi, making De Pere a grand depot for the exports and imports of one of the most fertile countries of the world."

De Pere's manufacturing importance increased yearly. The dam across Fox river at De Pere is fifteen hundred feet long and creates a waterpower unsurpassed by any other in the United States. Charles A. Lawton writes of the growth of manufactures at De Pere:

"In 1843, Joel S. Fisk, erected the first flour mill with a capacity of fifty barrels of flour per day. This mill is known to all as the Dunham mill.

"In 1855, Elias Sorenson established the first shipyard at De Pere. In the same year, Square & Sabine built a sawmill on the West side, which was sold to James Ritchie in 1860.

"In 1856, Wm. A. Kinsley built a mill on the East side. In 1858, Randall Wilcox and Eugene Wager built the stone mill on the site of the present Dousman Milling Company's mill. A stave factory was built on the West side on the new canal, by Seldon & Bliss, in 1864. In the same year, the De Pere Company erected a large building on the West side, which was occupied by C. A. Lawton & Company as a planing mill for a number of years. About this time the manufacturing of De Pere was at its height. In addition to these already mentioned, the E. E. Bolles W. W. Co., Marsh shingle mill, the old Wilcox sawmill, Rynan's flour mill, Kingsley's sawmill, Ritchie mill, and Andrew Reed's sawmill, all running full force. But in the spring of 1865 the war closed and business was paralyzed, and for several years De Pere made no progress.

"In the spring of 1870, business revived, and the wheels moved once more, and there was added to our manufacturing plants, Collette's stave and sawmill, the Fox River furnace and the National furnace, two factors that had more than any other one thing to do with the clearing up and developing of the farming country. The De Pere Steam Forge and the De Pere Iron Works, in the spring and summer of 1873, were turning out one freight car per day and giving employment to over 100 men. The panic of 1873 changed all this prosperity and sent many of the firms to the wall."

West De Pere was platted by Dr. Louis Carabin, of Green Bay, who inaugurated there the first brick kiln in Brown county. It was incorporated as a village in March, 1870. West De Pere outstripped immediately all its sister towns in commercial growth, East De Pere and Green Bay competing with it only within comparatively recent years.

In 1883, the state legislature passed an act incorporating the city of De Pere, comprising what is now the First and Second wards, as also an act to incorporate the City of Nicolet, now the Third and Fourth wards. In 1887, the legislature upon petition changed the name of Nicolet to West De Pere. In 1889, the electors of the two cities voted to consolidate and in 1890, the act was approved by the legislature.

Other manufactures in 1881 were the De Pere Mills, Dunham & Davis, Fox River Mills, Mathias Reynan, Arndt Brothers & Co.'s Mill, "Novelty" Manufacturing Company, Charles Lawton, president, which has grown into the large plant operated today for the manufacture of motor machinery, under the name of Lawton & Son.

Boat building which was begun at an early day by John P. Arndt and others has its largest plant at the present time in De Pere, the property of D. Kidney, and under the name of the Kidney Boat Building Works. An enormous number of motor boats, canoes and rowboats are turned out each year and shipped to all parts of the United States.

The old stone mill built by Randall Wilcox in 1857 stood until recently on the site of the present milling plant of the John P. Dousman Company.

Mrs. Frances L. Dunham, in an entertaining paper on "Old Houses of De Pere," written for the Green Bay Historical Society, thus describes some of the historic buildings:

"The building known as the old bank, was built in 1836, probably by the same architect who built the Wilcox house and the Jordon and Dunham houses, for they resemble each other. This was built by the Fox River Hydraulic Co., and used by them as a bank; it stood just south of the California House, and was later used as a dwelling. It was moved to its present location on Broadway near Cass street, nearly if not quite fifty years ago and was used as a school for many years, then as an Episcopal church, Mr. Haff preaching there and others, and later the Rev. George Whitney, being the resident pastor here for several years. After services here were discontinued, Mr. Sharpe bought the place, and used it for years as a storeroom for his furniture and finally about two years ago Mr. Fleck bought it and transformed it into a modern dwelling, though it still retains its classic pillars.

"The old stone schoolhouse built in 1857, was another of the very old buildings; the interior was destroyed by fire in April, 1896; later the still standing walls were pulled down.

"The first schools appear to have had only one teacher with an unlimited number of pupils. E. F. Parker was one of the early teachers, coming here to teach somewhere near 1864 or 1865, while he completed his law studies. He has told me that he had so many pupils and of such varied ages and grades, that he was obliged to form them into so many classes, that he had to limit the recitation of each class to five minutes in order to get through all in the two sessions each day. He had a novel and peculiar way of enforcing discipline—a wooden ball,

about three inches in diameter, which he would suddenly throw at the offending scholar when he was caught talking, and to add to the pain and disgrace he would oblige the scholar to pick up the ball and bring it back to him before all of the scholars so as to be ready to hurl it to the next bad boy.

"One very old house, a tavern called 'The Village House,' was built by W. P. Call; he kept it himself as a tavern, for many years. He was a man of a good deal of temper when things went wrong, and they often did for him. In those days small kerosene lamps were used in all the bedrooms and in the morning they would take them from the rooms and place them on the floor at the head of the steep narrow stairs, when they were all taken down together to be refilled. On one occasion, Mr. Call got mad, to put it mildly, and coming out to the upper landing, kicked all the lamps down stairs together. This tavern stood on the spot now occupied by the opera house; the roof of the piazza extended over the sidewalk and the floor of the piazza was the sidewalk."

De Pere is surrounded by a wonderfully fertile and productive contributory country, and in area, in population, in wealth, in commerce, in industry, and in municipal betterments is pressing forward with steady, substantial success.

In June, 1830, Henry S. Baird, as district enumerator for the county of Brown, made an official schedule intended for the national census of that year, and which is considered much more accurate than the later one of 1836, which was made merely for purposes of territorial apportionment. The area comprising later the entire tract of land known as Wisconsin territory was in 1830, divided into two counties only, the meridian running north and south, "through the middle of the portage between Fox river and the Ouisconsin river," the portion lying east of that meridian being Brown county, with its seat of justice "within six miles of the mouth of Fox river," and that lying to the west, Crawford county with Prairie Du Chien as its seat of justice.

The total population of Brown county at that time was 1,154, of whom 474 were members of the garrisons of Forts Howard and Winnebago, thus leaving 680 as the number of regular inhabitants. These consisted of 402 males and 274 females, or 676 inhabitants; a discrepancy of four from the schedule of details.

When the first territorial census was taken in 1836, by Ebenezer Childs, the first sheriff of Brown county after Wisconsin became a territory, the population of Brown county was given at 2,706. No towns are given, the inhabitants of the several settlements and the garrison of Fort Howard being included simply as belonging to Brown county. The "heads of families with number in each family" is given; the size of some of the "families" being phenomenal. Thus the commandant at Fort Howard, Captain Low, was credited with a family of 114, doubtless his entire military household, with possibly the exception of the other officers stationed there at the time, who were numbered separately. A man like John P. Arndt, who had extensive trading connections, included in his "family" of seventy-four, all his crews of clerks, as well as the inmates of his house and the strangers sojourning there. Daniel Whitney is credited with a "family" of forty-nine, these no doubt including his far-scattered workmen in frontier saw-mills, lumber camps, and at the Helena shot-tower. A steady stream of immigration was pouring into Wisconsin by the time the year 1840 had been reached, and many of our cities were founded at that time.

At the Wisconsin legislative session of 1840, Joel S. Wright was authorized

to erect a toll bridge across Fox river at the mouth of Plum creek. Hoel S. Wright, the founder of Wrightstown, and instigator of many improvements in the Fox river valley at an early day, was an energetic, progressive Vermonter who came west in 1833. He chose as a place of settlement the picturesque locality on the banks of Fox river, twelve miles above Green Bay, where the village of Wrightstown, known as East and West Wrightstown, is situated. It was a lonely spot eighty years ago, when Wright, with his wife and family took up his residence there; the nearest white neighbor was five miles away, but the river at this point was a favorite Indian camping ground,—the Indian name "Waupekun," and Plum creek, a stream worthy of mention in Stambaugh's report of 1830 as of consequence, rising "at the foot of the mountain." The mountain to which Stambaugh alludes many times in his official statement is the lime stone ledge, which extends the length of Brown county, and the source of many of the county streams.

Wright's indomitable courage and perseverance won the day, and a comfortable home. A little village grew within a few years around the spot called by its founder Bridgeport, and persisted in by him until after the town of Wrightstown was set off and named by the county board in honor of that burg's first and most prominent early settler. Later the name was given to the village, now one of the most thriving of the river towns.

It was Hoel S. Wright, who in 1836, established a ferry at this point for the convenience of travelers on the military road which had been cut through from Fort Howard to Fort Winnebago, and "Wright's Ferry" was a well-known crossing for many years. The enterprising New Englander also built in 1844, a water mill on Plum creek, which ranks among the earliest milling ventures of the county, and in 1847 added a hotel to his other business ventures at this point, the "American House," a hostelry, familiar to the early time traveler by stage or boat, as a most comfortable resting place. Rumor has it that at that epoch cats were at a premium among the early settlers, and that Hoel S. Wright purchased his first forty acres of land from the sale of felines. The government price of land at that time was \$1.25 per acre, so that cats at \$2.00 apiece proved a profitable investment.

The business followed by the majority of settlers along the river during the decade following 1830, was hunting, trapping and trading with the Indians, with a very little gardening thrown in, and Wright, with the rest, established a trading post. He was also for years the member from Wrightstown on the county board of supervisors, served in the state legislature, and was actively interested in the inauguration and prosecution of internal improvements.

On January 14, 1851, the following resolution was adopted by the board of supervisors: "Resolved, That a new town be set off from the town of Kaukaulin, embracing town 21, range 19, and town 21, range 20, and that part of town 22, range 19, lying on the east side of Fox river. Said town so set off to be called Wrightstown; and that the first election of town officers be held at the house of Hoel S. Wright, in Bridgeport, on the first Tuesday in April ensuing."

The minutes of the adjourned regular meeting of the board of trustees of the borough of Green Bay and which was held after the great fire of November, 1853, has on record this item:

"It has been stated to the board by Hoel S. Wright, that the commissioners of the Green Bay & Taycheedah Plank Road Co. have appointed a commission to call upon this board for a subscription to the capital stock of said company, which committee will probably call within a few days, and would have been present tonight, but for the storm and rain." The minutes further state that the board of trustees of the borough of Green Bay voted the sum of \$20,000 to the capital stock of the Green Bay & Taycheedah Plank Road Co., payable in the bonds of the borough at seven per cent per annum under the act authorizing said borough of Green Bay to subscribe to the stock of plank and railroads.

The projected Green Bay and Taycheedah plank road was to run from Fond du Lac to Green Bay, and was the first, as far as can be found, of that style of road-making in Brown county. It was, when constructed, a much commended route of travel, a detriment to its success, however, being the fact that the incorporators belonging to Fond du Lac, Green Bay, De Pere, and Wrightstown, insisted that the work should begin simultaneously at each end and work towards the middle. Years passed before this central morass was bridged. A settler of 1858, in Wrightstown, says: "I remember my first impression was that the village was a large black mud hole, like the one we had been traveling through all day. The roads were crooked, and narrow, and of an infinite depth."

This was only one of many similar corporations to which the different towns in Brown county subscribed at this time in order to facilitate road transportation. In addition there was the Green Bay, De Pere and Kaukauna plank road and others were projected toward Suamico and New Franken. Short pieces of plank road, and more often corduroy, were put in between the many mills that were by the year 1855, springing up all through the county. The rapid growth of the lumber industry called for passable highways whereby shingles and lumber could be carted to the river ports, and the mills were called upon to furnish the heavy rough plank used in this popular style of pioneer road-making.

Toll gates were established at intervals along the Green Bay and Taycheedah plank road, and after the opening of these toll gates, the financial condition of the company seemed less stringent, a report of 1854 showing that twelve per cent dividend had been paid that year to stockholders on their invested capital.

The last of these old toll houses, the one which originally stood on lot 8, block 68, and flush with the road in Green Bay city, was burned in 1905, on block 69, where it then stood.

Although the waterpower at Wrightstown is not as heavy as at other points along Fox river, yet it has always, since the first steam mill was built by F. N. Wright & Company in 1855, been a manufacturing town. Flouring mills, saw mills and stave factories followed in rapid succession, and the town of Wrightstown is today one of the most prosperous and wealthy in Brown county.

The first settlers are given as H. S. Wright, F. N. Wright, Dr. David Ward, and others. Garner kept the toll gate about half a mile below what was then called in 1858 the village. In 1857 C. G. Mueller, later a prominent man in the town, took up his residence there, and many of the Wrightstown manufacturing and mercantile industries are due to his capital and enterprise. Others of an earlier day were the Kellogg Brothers, who built in 1871 the first flouring mill in the town, and ground for the farmers about 32,000 bushels of grain per year; Arthur

Kellogg, an enterprising business man, and among the farmers, Nicolas Smith, N. Leavitt, Jacob Hein, N. G. Grant and Charles Finnegan.

The villages of Greenleaf, Ledgeville, and East Wrightstown are all in the town of Wrightstown, the center of a magnificent farming district and cheese factories and creameries abound. Here, as throughout the whole of Brown county, are to be found enormous barns with silos attached, and the level stretches of country are given to the generous cultivation of the land and the raising of herds of cattle for dairying purposes. The ride from the village of Wrightstown across to Greenleaf is full of beauty, the latter hamlet nestling almost under the shadow of the great stone ledge which rises here to lofty heights. The Greenleaf Stone Company is located here. From Greenleaf to Green Bay runs a straight and even road, much used by motorists and pleasure seekers, who enjoy its level stretches and the diversified landscape.

The town of Pittsfield was organized in 1852, and included until the year 1858 all of Suamico also. On February 15, 1853, the following townships were represented on the county board: John P. Arndt, Green Bay, chairman; Hoel S. Wright, Wrightstown; J. Gilman, De Pere; Thomas Bennett, Fort Howard; J. Baldwin, Pittsfield; William Field, De Pere, clerk. (Journal of proceedings of the board of supervisors.)

When set off in 1852, Pittsfield was one of the most heavily wooded portions of Brown county. Dense forests of pine and hemlock stretched unbroken throughout its entire area, watered by the Suamico river and numerous smaller streams. Sawmills were built all along these creeks, and the district became a center for the lumber industry. George R. Cooke, N. C. Foster, Sylvanus Wright and Oscar Gray all operated mills in Pittsfield, and at one time as many as ten mills were sawing for all they were worth in the settlement which gained the name of Mill Center, and screeched their challenge to the world at dawn and noonday. The list of early settlers is incomplete, but among the prosperous farmers mentioned as belonging to Pittsfield in 1876, were Luther Wilson, James Potter, A. T. Buckman, F. Streckenbach, T. Delaney, T. Doran, F. Gothe, and S. Wight, who was a lumberman as well. Those having interests in Pittsfield some years later were E. Boyden, Nicolas Caspar, John W. Delaney, F. Prelise, H. E. Mowers, and William Streckenbach.

The great fires of 1871 destroyed much of the timber in the town of Pittsfield, and from that time on the number of mills began sensibly to diminish, although those of A. L. Sanborn, L. W. Dunham and Oscar Gray remained. In still later years, Mathas Miller operated a mill at the Center. The inhabitants, as in other parts of Brown county, turned their attention to farming, to truck gardening and dairying, and Pittsfield today shows small evidence of the great milling period in its history. Only an occasional deserted mill of primitive make recalls that busy, prosperous time in the lumber epoch.

This whole district is now given over to agriculture and as a practical lumberman of those bygone days now says, "One good crop is more profitable today than all the wealth taken from the forest." The farmer of today considers beauty as well as utility in building his home, and the wide veranda, well kept front yard, filled with flowers and blooming shrubs, is as much considered and as carefully cultivated as the more lucrative part of the farm. In riding through the town of Pittsfield in the springtime the thick hedges of lilac bushes that

form dividing lines between flower and vegetable garden or orchard on almost every farm add immensely to the beauty of the country.

On the extreme northwest corner of the town of Pittsfield, so that it lies within the three counties of Brown, Shawano and Oconto, is Pulaski, which was settled by Polish colonists twenty-five years ago, and is a flourishing village of 486 population.

The congregation of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary was organized on April 27, 1887. On the same date was founded by Polish fathers of the Franciscan order a monastery for Polish members of the order. Later, Father Anthony Wisniewski, O. S. F., was transferred to Green Bay, and was made the first Superior of the large Franciscan monastery at that place. Pittsfield shows an increase in population of 3.69 in the census of 1910, and a total of 1,410.

On the 10th of July, 1856, notice was published in the Green Bay Advocate that a new town had been set off from the towns of Green Bay and De Pere to be called the town of Bellevue. On November 20th of that same year it was voted in the county board that the portion of Brown county extending on the east bank of Fox river "from the point where the south line of the city of Green Bay strikes said river shall be constituted into a town to be called Manitou; the election of officers to be held on the first Tuesday of April, 1857." It was at first the pleasure of the county board that this choice bit of level farming land should be named after the beautiful winding stream that divided the town in two, called successively the Manitou, Devil, and within the last fifty years East river. Bellevue was finally the name agreed upon by Harry E. Eastman and Judge David Agry, who had the matter in charge, and suited well the charming stretch of country lying between the two rivers and beyond. The settlement of the town was commenced about the year 1850, by an industrious and thrifty class of Germans.

The whole town of Bellevue is under excellent cultivation, the soil is fertile, especially in the valley portion; the eastern part is hilly, but all is adapted to farming purposes. When first set off, Bellevue included also what is now the town of Allouez, from which it was separated in 1873. The territory now composing it comprises that portion of the original town lying east of East river, in all but little more than eight thousand acres of land. A part of this land was known as the "lost section," as for some cause unknown it was never brought into market like other government lands. It was, however, settled upon by Germans and Hollanders from 1851 until 1855, who remained upon it under the preemption law until May, 1865, when it was conveyed to them by an act of congress, at \$1.25 per acre.

In 1873 that portion of Bellevue, the spelling now in use, lying between Devil river and Fox river, was set off as the town of Allouez, the name being given in recognition of the famous Jesuit missionary, Claude Allouez, who first brought civilization to these shores. The country embraced in the town of Allouez was the point of settlement for the first Americans who sought homes west of Lake Michigan, and was, when in 1856 set off as part of Bellevue, well settled and marked by comfortable farms. Many residents of Green Bay, former dwellers in Shantytown, continued to hold land outside the city limits and raised their own supplies for family use.

Allouez remained the last stronghold of the French Canadian families descend-

ants of the first settlers, until comparatively recent years. The Ducharmes, Solomons, Porliers, the Briquetelets and Dousmans all owned homes in this delightful spot. At Shantytown, "Chandidan," as they pronounced it, was the home of Col. Joseph Ducharme.

Col. Joseph Ducharme and family lived in a genuine French home on the site of the north building of the Hochgreve brewery. The dwelling was large with a spacious porch in front, the roof coming low down, making deep caves. The house contained a large chimney, and the French windows which opened like doors were filled in with very small glass. At the rear of the house a large pine tree spread its long branches and the roots were as large as a small tree. Colonel Ducharme had been in the French army and had still in his possession some of his military clothes in which he would dress on special occasions. "So proud, so proud was Colonel Ducharme" that when he stepped forth dressed in his uniform the habitants would whisper to one another with sly winks and nudges, "He thinks no doubt to open St. Peter's gate with that grande aire and the words, 'I am Colonel Ducharme.'"

His four sons were all musicians and for many years the dancers of Green Bay and vicinity footed it lightly and frequently to the strains of Ducharme's orchestra.

In 1875, Rufus B. Kellogg, a man of wealth and interested in the growth of the county, purchased a large portion of Allouez for a stock farm, in order to improve the breed of horses used in Brown county, Percheron stock being brought over from Normandy at great expense. This well kept model farm comprising many hundred acres was, following the death of the owner, divided up into lots and is rapidly being bought up for resident sites and small farms.

The Cadle farm and site of the first Episcopal mission building and school is also situated in the town of Allouez. The Roman Catholic cemetery and site of the first village church built under the supervision of Fathers Badin and Mazzuchelli in 1830, and the village site of old Menomineeville, the first county seat established by law west of Lake Michigan, are in Allouez.

The brewery of Hochgreve Brothers on the river shore succeeds the brewery of Hochgreve & Rahr, built in Shantytown in 1858, and at that time the third to be erected in this vicinity. The first as far as known was built on the bay shore by Philip Hannon, not long after the influx of Belgian colonists to Bay Settlement. The building stood just south of the old stone dock in the town of Scott, and of the beer made there Xavier Martin writes: "Philip Hannon, one of the first settlers, built a brewery at which he made a peculiar kind of beer; when a Belgian had drunk sixty or seventy glasses of that beverage, he would begin to feel good, and then he would sing a certain song, beginning, 'Nous avons planté des Canadas avec Marie Doudouye.' The music of this is not very stirring nor the words very patriotic, somewhat resembling the dying song of a Chippewa Indian; but when sung, it always indicated that the kegs were empty and the feast nearly over."

Holland was set off from the town of Wrightstown in 1853, the first election for town officers being held at the house of John Evres, in April of the following year. Its settlement, however, antedated this event some five years.

In 1848 three ships, the "Mary Magdalena," the "Liberia," and the "America," left Rotterdam with a colony of Holland immigrants destined for Wisconsin.

Father Van den Broeck, who had labored in Green Bay and Little Chute from his coming to the west in 1834, returned to Holland in 1847, for the purpose of inducing his countrymen to settle in Wisconsin. Among these first Dutch colonists was John H. M. Wigman, who became within a few years a prominent professional man in Brown county and the leader in many movements for reform among his own countrymen. A portion of the colonists remained in Cleveland, but the bulk arrived in Green Bay early in June, 1848. Of these a few took up their residence in that town; all who came in the "Mary Magdalena" settled with Father Van den Broeck on the site of Iometa's Indian village at the Little Chute, while the remainder of the colonists, those who sailed in the "Liberia" and "America," settled for the most part in "Franciscus Bosch," now Holland. They were a sturdy lot, hard workers, devout, practical Catholics, who by dint of hard labor and temperate habits were soon able to better their condition in life.

Among these first settlers in Franciscus Bosch were Henry Gerrits, Albert Van den Berg, John Verboort, John Tielemans, Henry Van de Hey, Martin Verkuilen, H. Verkampen and Henry Hoeverer. Father Gotherd, a priest of the order of St. Francis, who had accompanied Father Van den Broek as a colaborer with him in this mission field, took this Holland colony under his special charge and bestowed upon it the quaint name of "Franciscus Bosch," which it bore for many years among the older residents.

The priest could not attend to Hollandtown on each Sunday, but the sturdy pioneers nevertheless came through the thickness of the woods, rain or shine, and gathered in their log church for Sunday devotions. At first mass was celebrated in the open air, and also under a tree which supported a kind of semblance of a residence. Soon, however, a small log hut was erected, which served part for church and part for pastoral residence. The colonists were later able to purchase from their scant means forty acres of land, which they at once deeded to the Rt. Reverend Bishop Henni, of Milwaukee, for church purposes. A part of this land was parceled off into lots and sold as the population of the parish increased and homes were wanted near the church. The proceeds of this sale of land helped the parishioners to secure funds sufficient to build a frame church, to which was given the name of St. Francis Seraph, in honor of St. Francis of Assisi, the patron saint of the Order of St. Francis, to which Father Gotherd belonged.

Thus was the town of Holland begun. As time passed other families came over from the old country, and the place became a flourishing settlement. Some twelve families of Irish immigrants came to this vicinity as early as 1849, and made their home among the Holland settlers. Among these were Patrick Finnegan, Patrick Golden and Maurice Sommers, Patrick Dockery, Michael Dockery, John Clark, John Spain, Daniel Clune, Michael Brick, Joseph Franskee, Henry Freeman, Michael Sullivan, James Sommers, James Golden, Thomas Finnegan and Thomas Finnerty. Later came the Clearys, Meehans, Sheehans, Byers and many others. Hollandtown and Askeaton are the central points in Holland for the farms around the town. Forest Junction is also in the town.

The wild forest through which Father Gotherd led his devoted parishioners in 1848 has become one of the finest farming regions in Brown county, the soil being a sandy, clayey loam, well adapted to agricultural purposes. In the

latter part of the fifties a number of German families joined the settlement at Holland, and at the present time the population is pretty evenly divided between the three nationalities, although the Hollanders are still in the majority. Here, as elsewhere in this dairying district, are to be found a number of cheese factories and creameries.

Rockland was settled by the Irish as early as 1850, but was not set off as a town until 1857. The early pioneers were James Hobbins, Maurice Ryan, Stephen Joyce, Matthew Illsbury, followed by Leonard Bone, the Ryans, Dillons, Martins and Dollards.

The town contains about 2,000 acres of land, with soil varying from a rich sandy loam to red clay and is watered by numerous streams flowing into East river. The farms all through this section of country are excellent and well cultivated, and the land rich and productive.

In 1889 Rockland was a center for the breeding of Holstein cattle and is an extensive grazing country with fine farms, but is not as great a dairying district today as the neighboring towns of Wrightstown, New Denmark and Morrison. All these towns, including Glenmore and Holland, shared to a large extent in the benefit derived from the charcoal kilns built by the iron furnaces. On every stream, and there are many that thread these towns, and that were of much greater volume before the forests were cut down, was built, even back in the fifties, at least one sawmill.

The immense daily amount of wood required for charcoal to smelt the iron ore formed the lever that set the wheels of agriculture in motion. All the wood in the county was soon marketed at profitable prices, leaving the land free for the use of the husbandman.

The town of Lawrence was set off in 1848 and named in honor of Amos Lawrence, the founder of Lawrence University, who had purchased from Eleazer Williams a large tract of land on the west side of Fox river.

Lawrence included within her original limits a large part of the present city of De Pere. Even as far back as twenty-five years ago the town of Lawrence is reported as largely given over to dairy farming, and this characteristic still continues, some of the best creameries in Brown county being found in that town. All the land included in the town of Lawrence belonged to the Menominee tribe of Indians, and the property at an early day was obtained by Indian deeds. At Little Rapids began the original grant of land, deeded to Eleazer Williams and his wife, Madeline Jourdain. Here the landscape is diversified by steep hills sloping to the river, and the highway which borders the water is edged closely by sumach and hazel bushes.

The river eddies around an island, which lies at the foot of the declivity where the log house of the "lost dauphin" stood as late as 1886.

Ridge Point or Apple Creek, a beautiful park on the west side of Fox river, lies on the line between Wrightstown and Lawrence. This is a very popular resort during the summer months not only for parties from the cities near at hand but also for visitors from Neenah, Menasha and Appleton. Ridge Point has been laid out and improved by the Fox River Interurban line, and is under that management.

Passing northward we come to the great barns of the Lindauer Company and

the cheese factory of the South Lawrence C. & B. Company. At Little Rapids is the Lindauer pulp mill, which brings business and life to the town.

In the early history of Brown county the Great and Little Kakalin is often mentioned; one of the earliest sawmills, that erected by the government in the early twenties, was at the latter point. The name through successive and varied spelling of Kakalin was definitely settled by George Lawe, the son of Judge John Lawe, who, having made a plat of the town of Grand Kakalin, placed it instead on record as "Kaukauna." In Indian language the original was "O-Gau-Gau-Ning," which signified a stopping place for the pickerel or the pickerel fishing grounds. Among the earliest settlers in the town of Lawrence were the Stewarts, Maxwell and William, who owned one of the finest farms in the whole of Brown county, situated on the shores of Fox river, and cultivated to the best extent possible. Maxwell Stewart went extensively into the bee culture, and honey as well as butter from the Stewart farm was in great demand. Andrew Reid was one of the early mill men of Lawrence.

Among the farmers at a somewhat later day were the Bankers, father and son, Giles S. Philips, S. S. Clark, William and Robert Crabb, William Lusha at Little Rapids, John L. Morrison, F. Wiese, J. Williamson, W. F. Redman, Joseph Rupiper, the Wisharts, H. P. Cady, the Scheurings and many others, for the farms lie in close proximity.

The first property laid out in what was afterward West De Pere was a brick yard started by Drs. Louis Carabin and George Armstrong in 1855. Later a plat of the town was made by Dr. Carabin, the town being known as West De Pere. It became the Third and Fourth wards of the city of De Pere on August 20, 1889, when the east and west side consolidated under the name of De Pere.

The towns of Morrison and Glenmore, settled principally by Irish colonists, were set off respectively in 1854 and 1856. This part of Brown county, now among the most beautiful and highly cultivated farming sections to be found anywhere, were originally densely timbered and exceedingly difficult of settlement. From 1858 mills began to be established and the lumberman joined hands with the farmer in clearing up the land. The towns are now among the richest of Brown county, a veritable garden spot. The country extending through Rockland, Glenmore and New Denmark is thus described by Stambaugh in 1830: "In a direction east from the Little Kakalin about eight miles there is a large body of delightful land. There are numerous streams rising at the foot of the mountain (the ledge) near this place, the banks of which at some places rise to a height of seventy or eighty feet, and the waters become very rapid. On the margins of these streams are the finest groves of sugar maples. These streams unite a few miles below this place and form considerable water called Devil's river, which is navigable for large vessels two or three miles above the mouth." (W. H. C. v. 15.)

In 1854 the board of supervisors passed the resolution that a new town be set off from the towns of Wrightstown and De Pere, said town to be called Morrison, and that the first election of town officers should be held at the house of Alphonse Morrison on the first Tuesday in April following. The home of this first settler was in the midst of an as yet almost unbroken forest. The earliest pioneers to hew their way to what is now the town of Morrison were Alphonse

J. Morrison and his wife, who date their settlement there on February 8, 1851, their first child being the first white child born in the town. Morrison removed to Wrightstown in 1855, selling out his interest in Morrison to Philip Falck, who became a prominent business man in the place and its first postmaster. The Morrison cheese factory is today owned by Louis Falck, a son of this early settler.

Wayside is the shipping point for the country around and is a thriving and growing village. The population of Morrison shows an increase according to the census of 1910. Well known and early families of Morrison were John and James Clark, Michael Quinn, John G. Gross, John Hickey, John Lenke, Jerry Branin and John Malloy.

At Lark, a country postoffice in Morrison, eighteen miles south of Green Bay City, and seven from Greenleaf, are two cheese factories.

Glenmore's first settler was Samuel Harrison, who located in the region about 1846, and whose son Samuel led Company H of the Fourteenth. Michael Patten and Tim Murphy were the first Irish settlers, coming to Glenmore in 1846 and 1850 respectively. Those who came later and took up lands were: James Heiffernan, B. P. Brannan, Thomas Lawton, Michael Moran, Patrick Bailey, John Healey and Cornelius Donahoe. The first election of town officers in Glenmore was held at the home of Michael Patten on the first Tuesday in April, 1857.

The town of New Denmark, settled by a Danish colony about 1848, is one of the most flourishing and steadily increasing in population of the county towns. Although immigration from the old country to Brown county was up to 1800 principally among the Hollanders, Irish, Germans and Belgians, yet there was also a generous influx of Scandinavians and Danes, beginning with the settlement of New Denmark, and including the Norwegian colony brought from Norway in 1850 by Otto Tank, to the town of Howard.

The villages of Denmark, Fontenoy, Buckman, and Lange are all centers for the cheese industry, seven factories and one creamery, according to the 1910 report of State Dairy and Food Commission, being in operation in the town of New Denmark. A large plant for the manufacture of condensed milk has also been erected in Denmark. The town of New Denmark shows a larger increase in population during the past five years than any other Brown county town, except Preble, and the village of Denmark is a prosperous and rapidly growing place, with Roman Catholic, Danish Lutheran, German Lutheran and German Methodist churches and the Denmark State bank. There is also the Denmark Lumber Company, the Denmark Manufacturing Company and the Kriwanek elevator. In addition are a number of good general stores, and cheese factories and creameries abound.

Among the earlier settlers were: John Bartelme, N. H. Gotfredson, Ed Rasmussen, F. W. Rasmussen, Caspar Hansen and M. Lewis. A postoffice was established in New Denmark as early as 1848, called Cooperstown, but was afterward changed to Denmark. The Cooperstown of today, familiar to motor-ing parties who make it a visiting point during the automobile season, is just over the line in Manitowoc county.

On March 8, 1855, a resolution was adopted by the Brown county board of supervisors creating the town of New Denmark, at that time forming a part

of De Pere. The first election of town officers was held in the New Denmark schoolhouse. Some German and Irish families joined the settlement of Danes, and farms gradually began to dot the landscape in every direction. The Neshoto river which pursues its winding way through New Denmark is fed by many streams on which from forty to fifty years ago were the inevitable saw-mills.

In looking over a plat of New Denmark of twenty-five years ago, although there are other nationalities owning land in the town, yet the land owners for the most part are Danes, the Andersons, Larsens, Christensen, Hansen, Jorgensen, Petersen, Nelson, Haeger, Erickson, Osterloh, Benecke, Hendricksen, Knuth, Marcus and Arvesen.

After leaving Denmark the country is rolling with deep indentations that cause a diversity of foliage in the landscape. Here and there are compact clumps of timber and streams bordered by willows slip away between patches of deeper green. Striking almost due north the road from New Denmark leads through leagues of fertile country to Henrysville in Eaton township, and through Humboldt to Schiller and the Sugar Bush. This part of Brown county is diversified by a chain of small lakes of which Lilly lake is the largest, and is watered by the Neshoto river, its tributary, King creek, and numerous other smaller streams. The grain stands high in the fields, promising as fine a yield as in 1910, when according to statistics 1,421,975 bushels of oats alone was raised in Brown county. There are herds of sleek black cows with a mellow bell hanging and tinkling from the neck of the leader, but creameries and cheese factories are not as numerous in Eaton as other parts of the county.

On November 18, 1859, the county board of supervisors ordered that from and after the 1st day of April, 1860, a certain part of the then town of New Denmark be erected into a new town to be called Eaton. After the first day of April all connection by the said town of Eaton with the town of New Denmark was to cease and the first election of town officers in said town of Eaton was to be held at the house of Patrick Burns.

At the same session of the board in November, 1859, the towns of Humboldt, Suamico, Preble and Scott were set off, the election of town officers for all the newly organized towns to be held on the first day of April following. The first settlers in the town of Eaton came about 1855. They were Patrick Carney, Patrick Burns, James Kehoe and others, who were followed by Danes, Belgians, Germans and a large number of Polish colonists. The majority of these colonists went into farming and stock raising. Henrysville and Poland are centers of trade in Eaton. There is rural delivery from Green Bay. The population of Eaton is increasing steadily according to the last census report, the total being 1,188.

The first town meeting in Humboldt was held at the house of Henry Fontaine. Humboldt was settled largely by Flemish Belgians, Germans and some Hollanders. Schiller and New Franken are the principal villages. At New Franken are a number of cheese factories. Schiller is the center of an important farming district, and truck gardens throughout this section abound. The township is watered by Scarboro creek, and on this stream Anton Klaus, one of the successful business men of Green Bay, began milling operations early in the '60s, cutting the timber at first directly around his mill and gradually working



CASCADES, TOWN OF SCOTY

out from this central point. The lumber and shingles were hauled by ox teams to a dock built by Klaus at Bay Settlement and shipped from there by schooner. The streams throughout Humboldt were not large enough to raft the logs, and lumbering was hard work at that period in Brown county. Shingles were brought to the Green Bay port from every part of Brown county by ox team, and the long strings of wagons could be met at any hour of the day bringing in great loads of the manufactured article along the narrow stump rutted roads of the county.

The Flemish and Walloon congregation of the Immaculate Conception was established about 1870 in Humboldt. The Walloon mission of St. Hubert's was inaugurated some years later, and is located two miles from the mother church. The first church, a quaint little building is still standing and used, but at the Sugar Bush is the handsome large church of St. Huberts.

It was in July, 1845, that the families of John and Peter Schauer, Michael Burkard, Michael Lang, Valentine Lang, Wendelin Sohler, Caspar Schoerger, Andrew Schott, James Schauer and Andrew Schmitt came from Unter Franken, Bavaria, and located at New Franken. These were followed in 1846 by George Schauer, Melchior Schauer, Martin Heim and Nicolas Holzapiel, while in 1848 the families of Peter Schaut, Gerhard Schaut, Christopher Simons, Henry Simons, Anthony Goetxmann, Michael Listel, Sebastian Gehring and Lawrence Wolfert came to the same place from Prussia. These were the members of the colony as given in the records of St. Killian's church, New Franken. A number of German families joined the New Franken colony until as many as thirty families had taken up their residence there.

In 1845 the whole of this section of Brown county was included under the town of Green Bay, but during the '50s the attention of the county board was largely given to the setting off of towns, and in 1869 New Franken was included within the limits of the town of Scott. These boundaries were later changed and New Franken came within the jurisdiction of Humboldt.

The colony has had a somewhat tragic history, first as being visited by the terrible cholera epidemic of 1855, and as the centre of that part of Brown county, of the disastrous forest fires of 1871.

Of the death within two days of the Burkard brothers in 1855, the Green Bay Advocate of July in that year has this to say: "The most remarkable fatality in this vicinity which it has been our lot to record has occurred during the past week at the German settlement of New Franken, about nine miles northeast of this place, by which the three Burkard brothers, John M., Joseph and John have been suddenly cut off. Of John M. Burkard we feel it a privilege to say a few words. We have known him for some nine years, and learned to respect and esteem him for his many manly qualities. He was a highly educated man, with a mind much above mediocrity, and a disposition most generous and gallant, unflinching and warm in his friendship, reliable and sound in all business, political and social relations. * * * In the last Democratic convention for this assembly district, Mr. Burkhard was nominated for the legislature. He accepted it only after much persuasion. A statement of this kind would have been doubted during an election campaign, but it will not be now that he is gone."

New Franken called during the '50s the "Bavarian Settlement," is now one

of the most enterprising and flourishing of the Brown county villages, on the line of the Kewaunee, Green Bay & Western Railway, and in the midst of a productive farming country. As a shipping point for the country around, New Franken has the Wells Fargo Express Company, and has telegraph and telephone connections with the city of Green Bay, and surrounding towns. Albert L. Greiling in addition to being the manager of the New Century Co-operative Creamery Company, owns a large general store and an elevator. Other prominent firms are Schauer & Company, general store, John T. Basten, owner of a general store and leader of the New Franken orchestra.

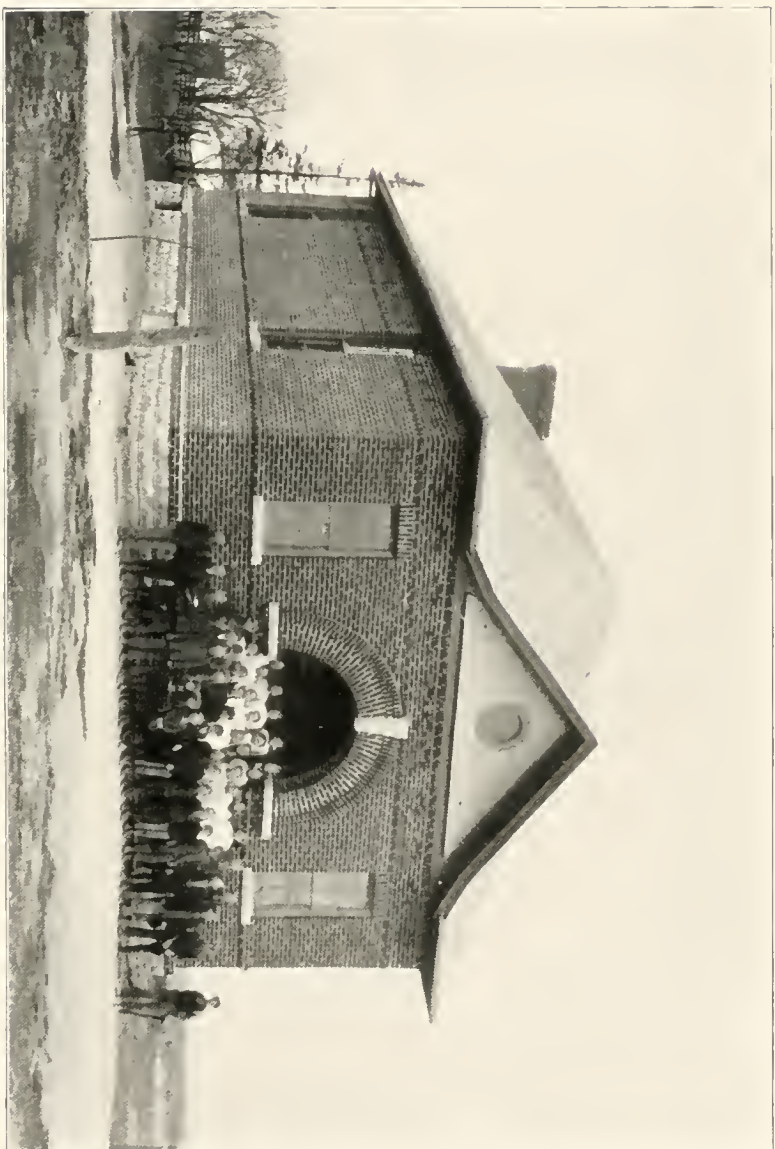
The town of Scott or "Liberty" as it was first named, was set off from Green Bay in November, 1859, and the first meeting ordered to be held at the "schoolhouse near the old cascade." The name "Liberty" did not suit John P. Arndt, chairman at that time of the county board, and he proposed instead "Pochequette" as more suitable for the site of many former Indian villages, but Robert Gibson urged "Scott" probably in honor of Sir Walter, and this name was finally adopted. The election of town officers was held on the first day of April, 1860, "at the schoolhouse of Joseph Allard, near the falls in said town of Scott."

The official schedule of the inhabitants of Brown county, made in 1830 gives to Bay Settlement just eight inhabitants: the family of Isaac Jacques and that of Amable Gervais. Stambaugh's report in the same year says that there was a small settlement of French Canadians on the east shore of the bay six miles below the fort, who had cleared and cultivated several hundred acres of land, the only white settlement on the peninsula outside of the confirmed claims. The Langevin claim, belonging to the "Green Bay Settlement" was the farthest north of the old French claims, reaching nearly to the shore line of Bay Beach in 1830. Between the two settlements was quite a stretch of meadow land used by both settlements for grazing purposes.

Louis Corbeille who settled on the bay shore in 1830, says he found but two families there, those of Louis La Resch and Joseph Greenwood; Louis Rouse and family settled there a little later, as did the Rousseau family, Anton Allard and others. The "French Settlement" as it is usually termed in the proceedings of the county board, did farming in a small way, but the great industry of the place was fishing. All along the bay shore were set the nets of the fishermen, and until comparatively recent years the fisheries were the great interest of that part of the county.

The first American settlers came about the year 1836. They were: John Campbell, Robert Gibson, Van Rennsalaer Marshall and William Sylvester. The postoffice of Wequiock was established in 1856, another one at New Franken in 1860, and still another at Bay Settlement in 1868. Rural delivery now reaches all the towns in the county, and brings a daily mail to the farm houses all along the route, and the majority of the farmers' homes have telephone connection.

Bay Settlement is the oldest point of colonization outside of Green Bay. De Pere and Prairie du Chien, in Wisconsin, and its Indian history antedates the other towns. It has one of the finest locations to be found anywhere. The gradual slope upward from the bay, the vivid green of the fields and groves, the lofty land eastward crowned by a succession of pretty hamlets render it a



NEW FRANKEN SCHOOL

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ATTA, LEMMA KIR
TILDA FOUNDATIONS

charming picture from the bay. Red Banks still rises abruptly from the water's edge, although the contour of the land has changed with water erosion and the thick growth of juniper and evergreen shrubs that fringed the edge of the bluff in earlier days has disappeared almost entirely, gradually sliding away from the solid earth above.

The spire of Holy Cross church rises in the distance; one of the first Catholic congregations established in Brown county, and successor to a mission inaugurated at Bay Settlement in 1834, by Father Van den Broek. The missionary erected and dedicated a church at that time to St. John Nepomué, the congregation including the families of La Framboise, Shallifax, Vieux, Rousseau, La Plantes, Baumier, Champeaux and Verbocoeurs and other well known names.

After these first French settlers had partially cleared away the massive growth of timber which formerly covered all this part of the country, a number of Hollanders, Germans, Flemish, Walloon, Belgians and a few Irish also took up their residence there, and thus the population became mixed both as to nationality and language.

The northern part of the town of Scott was occupied almost entirely by Lutherans and a few Scotch Presbyterians, but the number was not sufficient of either denomination to warrant the building of a place of worship. Among these Protestant colonists were numbered the Gibsons, Campbells, the family of August Speirschneider and others who owned large tracts of land in this vicinity, cultivated fine farms and were numbered among its best citizens.

It was early in the '40s that the temporary church built by Father Van den Broek was succeeded by a log church built by the French settlers where Holy Cross stands today. For some time service was conducted by priests from St. John's church, Green Bay; the much beloved priest Father Bonduel, Rev. Perrodin, Anderledy, Father General of the Jesuits and others.

The first resident priest was Father Daems, who came from Belgium in 1850. For two years he assisted Father Van den Broek at Little Chute, when he returned to Bay Settlement taking charge of that church, and the small Belgian settlements all along the peninsula. A large number of pioneers from this nationality had immigrated to this point in the early '50s and Father Daems was influential among them.

Three times did the dread disease cholera visit the Green Bay region with deadly results. The first epidemic was in 1832, proving very fatal in the little town of Menomineeville. Again in 1834 the cholera swept this section, and still again in 1855 the disease broke out with terrible virulence among Father Daems' congregation and other dwellers in the county of Brown.

The sudden death of the Burkard brothers at New Franken was only one of many similar occurrences, the scourge slaying its hundreds throughout the entire vicinity. For seven weeks while it raged most fiercely Father Daems kept his horse constantly saddled, and for that whole terrible period he did not know one night of undisturbed repose. Many instances are recorded of the good father's kindness of heart, of his wonderful efficiency in emergencies and of his success in the executive pursuance of his work; he became widely known and highly respected.

Among those most heavily engaged in agriculture were in 1876 Neil Munro,

Thomas Smith, David Davidson, J. Verhulst, Robert Vickory, John Cook, Joseph Poitras, Paul Keiser, Peter Krouse and Alfred Wallingfang.

The town of Suamico was set off from Pittsfield in November, 1857. The district had been an important one from early times one of the first county roads declared being that between Suamico and Fort Howard, which required from the amount of travel over it that it be attended to and kept in some degree of repair. It was a famous fishing ground in the days when Father Andre lived in the Indian village of Oussaouamigong. The shore of the bay at this point is still largely given over to fishermen's cabins and reels of fish nets and fishing boats are along the shore. The great industry of the '50s and '60s was milling, and along the Big Suamico there were several large sawmills.

Among the first to settle at this point were A. Sensiba, Stephen Burdon, Charles Kitchen and Willard Lamb, and later A. Bouchard, C. J. Lucia, C. E. Kanute and W. E. Burdeau.

Like the rest of Brown county the great interest of the present day is agriculture. The soil is a sandy loam with a clay subsoil and is of a very fertile nature, giving abundant products of crops, wheat, rye, oats, barley, corn, peas and potatoes.

Suamico is on the line of the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad, and is the shipping point for the surrounding farming country.

Flintville, named after Richard Flint, an early settler and the first supervisor from the town of Suamico is a flourishing village on the Suamico river with a Roman Catholic and Methodist church, and a postoffice, Sarah G. Burdeau, postmistress.

The town of Green Bay once embraced all the territory now comprised in those towns lying on the east shore of the river and bay including also the city of Green Bay. After the secession of the city of Green Bay the town of Green Bay was yet one of the largest townships in the state, its northern boundary line having over twenty miles of shore on the bay; and it continued to be so until 1858 when the present towns of Preble, Humboldt and Scott also seceded. Its area up to that time was about ninety-eight square miles. It is now so reduced in size that its territory is only about eight miles long and three miles wide. The town is thus described by Xavier Martin, an early Belgian colonist, in a paper published in the Wisconsin Historical Collections. Its dense forests gradually gave way under the axes of its inhabitants. The wolves and the bears which made sad havoc among the pigs of the early settlers, and the Indians who hunted them, have all disappeared; the town is now thickly dotted with well cultivated farms, substantial homes, barns, churches and schoolhouses. Its soil is good and well watered by creeks and rivulets which empty into the bay, except a few which constitute the head of Kewaunee river, emptying into Lake Michigan at Kewaunee. Its soil is well adapted for the cultivation of wheat, rye, barley, oats, corn and all vegetables cultivated in the state of Wisconsin.

Tobacco of a superior quality is also cultivated in this town, and almost every farm has a patch of the weed which the farmer cultivates and cures either for his own use or for market.

Of its first settlers who immigrated from Belgium in 1853, a few lines ought to be written, not only for the many difficulties and privations to which they

were subjected for the first few years, but because the first eight families who first settled in this town formed the nucleus of the thousands of Belgians who followed them in 1854 and 1855, and settled the peninsula between Green Bay and Lake Michigan as far north as Sturgeon Bay and even beyond; which territory now constitutes the counties of Door, Kewaunee and the east part of the county of Brown. The names of those people who have opened the way to so many thousands of intelligent and industrious men, women and children, and who have contributed so much to the wealth of the county of Brown are as follows: Francois Petinoit, Philip Hannon, Etienne Detienne, Joseph Jossart, Joseph Moreau, Lambert Bodart, Jean Bt. Detienne and Adrien Massey. These families sailed from Antwerp on the 18th of May, 1853, and arrived in New York on the 5th of July and in Green Bay in August of the same year.

Leaving their families in the now city of Green Bay, most of the men went out prospecting for their settlement, and finally concluded to settle along the Fox river near Kaukauna; and were it not for a little incident which occurred in one of those families, the Belgian settlement would in all probability be situated between Wrightstown and Kaukauna. But it was otherwise ordered. The death of a child in the family of Philip Hannon caused a delay of a few days. The child was buried by the Catholic priest of St. John's church in the city of Green Bay, and on the day of the funeral Rev. Father Daems of Bay Settlement happened to be visiting the pastor of St. John's, formed the acquaintance of the families named and by the glowing description made by Father Daems of the country beyond Bay Settlement the little squad abandoned their first prospect, forfeited the entries of land they had made near Kaukauna and determined to strike their tents in the present town of Green Bay. * * *

A word about the chapel (Robinsonville) may be of interest to the reader. It may or may not be known generally to the people of this state, that in this town, and within fifteen miles of the city of Green Bay, there exists a chapel and a shrine, built to the Virgin Mary to which thousands of pilgrim worshippers come yearly from far and near to offer up their devotions, and if we are to believe the reports of some of the faithful, many invalids have found a permanent cure, which is attributed by them to the virtues and power of the Virgin Mary; many having left their canes and crutches on the altar in the chapel, and gone home repeating Ave Maria Gracia Plena Dominus Tecum.

The building of this chapel and shrine deserves to be noted. In the month of August, 1858, on the spot where the chapel is now built, there stood two small trees, a few feet apart, between which it is said appeared the Virgin Mary in person, and addressed a Miss Adele Brice, who was passing at the time on her way home from church and to whom she spoke in the French language, requesting the said Adele Brice to devote all her time to the service of the Virgin Mary, and the dissemination of the Catholic faith, and to build a chapel on the sacred spot. The report of this strange apparition spread all over the settlement in this and adjoining counties with lightning speed and the people came in large numbers to see what they considered holy ground, and to listen to the words of Adele Brice. Without going into the details of this event and the result, I will simply say that Adele Brice for several years met with considerable opposition from the clergy of this diocese, who declared publicly that the apparition of the Virgin Mary to Miss Brice was a myth, and an imposi-

tion, and for a time the holy sacrament was even refused to Adele Brice for her perseverance and assertion of this strange apparition. But in spite of this the multitude would congregate on the spot and in company with Miss Brice would worship, and even say mass on certain days. In the same year a small chapel was built, afterwards a church, and now a chapel, church, and even a convent in which young boys and girls are educated. The Right Reverend Bishop of the diocese has never recognized the authenticity of this apparition, but has virtually sanctioned the building of a church or chapel on the spot, and allows the faithful to congregate there for the purpose of worship according to the Roman Catholic faith."

The town of Hobart was set off in 1906, and comprises a part of the original Oneida reservation and the majority of the population is of that nation. Oneida within the last ten years has made progress along many lines. Agriculture is the principal industry, and much of the finest farming land of the county is situated here. Hobart is on the line of the Green Bay & Western Railroad. Near the station is situated the commodious buildings belonging to the United States government school, which is beautifully situated on a high level ridge and can be seen from all directions.

Hobart church and mission building, rectory, guild house, and hospital form quite a group of buildings, and are perhaps three-quarters of a mile from the government school, an interesting place to visit, for here can be found samples of the work of the Indian women, the fine lace, basket weaving and beadwork of which they make such a success. There are also flourishing Methodist and Roman Catholic missions, situated several miles beyond.

The history of the Oneidas is an interesting one, but the people are rapidly getting away from the old traditions and customs and have become good American citizens, tilling the land and making for themselves comfortable attractive homes. Dairying as well as agriculture is pursued.

Preble was settled as early as 1836, by Peter Faenger and other German colonists. The stretch of country which it comprises is the high and very rolling ground east of Green Bay known as the kettle moraine section, the deep indentations showing where the glacier pushed its way, rested and melted and which have formed numerous streams and ponds. Preble was set off in 1859, and it is said was named in honor of Admiral Preble. Through here runs East river, Hill creek or Ellis creek, as it is now designated, and Baird's creek. The business of dairying and cheesemaking is increasing here as in other parts of the county, and multitudes of truck gardens stretch far and wide. Enormous crops of onions, peas, beans, and cabbage are raised throughout this part of the county. In Preble, John M. Smith made his experiment in market gardening, showing the people what could be accomplished by intelligent methods of work. The land was considered worthless by the older inhabitants when Smith purchased it some time in the sixties largely because it was cheap and near a market. In 1876, the well known gardener reports that from thirteen acres planted to vegetables and fruits he realizes yearly about \$7,000. This was considered phenomenal profit, and acted as a spur for the whole country about, so that market gardening became a great industry.

The Forsythes, Mahons, Rothes, Laus, Krieschers, Doughertys, Cryans, Cleermans, Bins, and C. N. Aldrich were all early settlers in the town.

One of the earliest grist mills was on Cedar creek in the town of Preble, belonging to the Deuster company, a still earlier one being the old stone windmill on the upper road to Wequiock, to which the farmers from miles around brought their grain to be ground into coarse flour.

On July 8, 1861, the Board of Supervisors agreed upon the following plan of division for Brown county: First District to be composed of the towns of: Pittsfield, Suamico, Howard, borough of Fort Howard, city of Green Bay.

Second District: Preble, Scott, Humboldt, Eaton, Green Bay, Denmark.

Third District: Bellevue, Depere, Lawrence, Glenmore, Rockland, Wrightstown, Holland, Morrison, village of De Pere.

The Bay City Press commenting on the districting of the county remarks: "With the exception that Preble should be attached to the first district this seems to be a very judicious division."

Ashwaubenon, an irregularly shaped town lying on the west side of Fox river opposite Allouez, is quite as historic in its way as is the more lofty shore across the stream, for this township contains the tract of land deeded by the famous Menominee chief Ashwaubemie, to his descendants, the families of Franks and LaRose. This is also the territory where Waubenuqua, the beautiful "Morning Star," was brought according to legend, when Ashwaubemie carried her away from her hostile people to make her his wife.

Ashwaubenon creek, a lovely stream, navigable for some distance for small boats, is overhung by willows and sumach bushes, and is fed by numerous branches, while a short distance northward flows into the Fox river, Dutchman's creek, on which was situated the mill used so continually by the English marauders during the War of 1812. Thirty years later the miller of that war time, Dominick Brunette, or "Masca," as he was nicknamed by his Creole neighbors, was among the first supervisors on the Howard town board, holding successively the office of fence viewer, highway commissioner and member of election board.

On Dutchman's creek lived Colonel Bowyer and Peter Ulrich, "the Dutchman," as he was nicknamed, and two mills are marked as being on this stream in the early plats of the county. On this creek was later located John Hocker's brickyard, which turned out in 1881, 2,000,000 bricks, both yellow and red, and is still in operation, and the Barkhausen coal docks are also in Ashwaubenon. The Morrisises, Cormiers, Greens and others had extensive farms at an early day. This part of the county has been a great pea-growing district, furnishing immense quantities for the large canning factories in Green Bay. Well cultivated farms stretch from Fox river westward to the heights of Fox hill and the Oneida reservation, and the whole town speaks of thrift and prosperity. The interurban line of electric road runs through the towns on the west and east sides of Fox river, connecting them by rapid and easy transit.

(References for Chapter XXVI: Records of Town of Howard; Records of Borough of Fort Howard; Proceedings of Common Council, City of Green Bay, De Pere Village and City Records; Journal of Proceedings Board of Supervisors; French, Hist. of Brown County; J. H. M. Wigman.)

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CHAPTER XXVII

FISHERIES—AGRICULTURE—BRICK YARDS—BRIDGES

The fishing industry has always been a heavy asset in the wealth of Brown county. As far back as 1674, Father Louis Andre, living at the Indian village of Oussaoumigong, now Suamico, wrote that it was almost impossible to conduct service in the cabins because of the immense piles of drying fish. The air was heavy with the pungent odor and the priest could hardly find space to stand and perform the holy offices of the church.

The Indians who could not successfully spear sturgeon and other fish through the ice were despised by the more facile tribes. "The Puans who can not fish have gone into the woods to live on deer and bears," wrote Father Allouez in recounting one of his winter excursions to the east shore of the bay.

The primitive fish weir that the Indians built across Fox river at the Rapides des Peres as a barrier for the rush of shoals of fish down stream was much admired by the Jesuit fathers, who speak of it as a most practical and successful method. The Indian standing upon the weir speared with his stone pointed instrument the mass of finny monster fish, pike, sturgeon and muskellunge as well as smaller fry.

The fisheries at De Pere became of great importance during the fifties and continued until 1870, and even later. Racks were constructed across the river much like those of an earlier day and from above the fish were hooked and landed with little difficulty.

The amount of fish taken in the racks which were built across the river at De Pere was enormous; in the fall, pike, whitefish, herring, sturgeon were taken by the million. The farmers would come in when the catch was brought to shore and would buy for twenty-five cents apiece, sturgeon from four to five feet in length, which now sell for twenty-five and thirty cents a pound. After the railroad went through the fish were dumped in a flat car and ice thrown on top of them, and they were shipped to Chicago. Twenty or thirty men were employed at the seines and fish rack at De Pere. The fish racks were about sixteen feet wide, much on the same principle as the fish weirs built by the Indians long ago. The force of the current carried the fish down stream where they were carried into the pocket of the rack and were caught by means of hooks. Hundreds of sturgeon were trapped and hooked in this way.

With the invention of pound nets the fishermen down the bay would take at every catch more than they could possibly dispose of. Only the choice fish were retained for market, the rest were either thrown on the ground and left as a fertilizer or were tossed back in the bay. The fish fertilizing scheme was much used, whole farms were covered a foot deep with choice fish that today would be eagerly sought after.

In 1854 there were 2,236 barrels of fish exported. In 1888 the annual product was over 700 tons and Brown county reported as the largest fishing station in Wisconsin. The bay has always been a prolific fishing ground; whitefish, sturgeon, herring, pike, pickerel, trout, muskellunge, dory, catfish, white and black bass are still caught in large quantities and shipped to all parts of the west. Still another branch of this industry all along the bay is the crawfish catch; crab-pots being set closely at convenient points on the shore.

At Bay Settlement and on the west shore the fishermen grew lavish and wasteful of the great accumulation secured at every catch. L. G. Schiller, who went into the fish business in Green Bay in 1872, says that the decline in number of the sturgeon is largely owing to the wasteful methods employed by fishermen of that time, who would cord great bundles of this big fish and leave them rotting on the shore. There was no profit in carrying them to market at Green Bay, where from the largest to the smallest the price was only twenty-five cents. The plan of smoking the sturgeon was begun by Schiller and became a profitable industry, the product selling readily at nine cents a pound.

A great many people on both sides of the bay northward from Green Bay are employed in the fishing business and depend upon it for a livelihood and the capital invested in it is large. The Booth Fisheries Company and the Johnson-Schiller Company are the largest exporters.

The catch for 1912 shows no decrease from that of thirty years ago, a conservative estimate placing the number of fish caught at over a million. This is due to the strict game laws enforced, which limit the fishing season. Large quantities of fry from the state hatcheries are planted yearly in Green Bay to replenish the supply. There were nearly twenty-five million of fry deposited in the bay last season.

The catch consists of carp (the largest), herring, whitefish, bayfish, trout, pike, catfish, pickerel, black bass and white bass. No fishing can be done in pike, black bass, white bass, catfish and pickerel during the month of June. From April 1st to May 10th, herring and bayfish are protected, whitefish and trout from October 10th to December 1st.

It was in 1856 that Brown county fishermen, always an independent guild, lent a hand toward expelling the Mormon colony, on Beaver Island, from their stronghold, St. James. The newspapers of that period are filled with accounts of the high-handed doings of King Strang and his followers. The colony had become very prosperous, was in fact a veritable little kingdom, manufacturing its own supplies along different lines, raising crops for food, and above all doing a most thriving fishery business, a fact much resented by the fishermen along Green Bay and on Washington Island. It was this last industry that caused the constant warfare waged between the Gentiles on the mainland and the islanders, and the record of skirmishes and bloody battles, and of raids for the purpose of plunder, recall the tales of ancient border wars. They fought with anything that came to hand, with pike poles, blunt dory oars, clumsy knives, and whenever the flying scud of a Gentile boat crossed the bow of a Mormon craft war was the result. The fishermen hated the Mormons for their religion, for the deadly quiet and secrecy with which they pursued their daily avocations, above all for the prosperity and comfort that year by year grew more marked in the saints' colony, so different in its systematized thrift from their own haphazard methods of gaining a livelihood.

A passenger on the steamer *Michigan* writes to "Friend Robinson" of the *Advocate* on June 26, 1856: "I assure you in all soberness matters are becoming desperate hereaway, and it would be no seven wonder if all our Mormon friends at the Beavers were, before next Tuesday evening, completely routed and 'cleaned out' from the island. The sheriff from Mackinac with his posse of about fifty men, mostly collected at the Bay (Green Bay) and Washington Island, have taken five of the Mormon gang, and two more for witnesses. Some shots were fired and some kicks and cuffs exchanged in the meantime. Good and strong resistance was offered but to no purpose—they had to come aboard dead or alive.

"The plan now is to return this week with at least one hundred and fifty men, properly armed and equipped, and just clear every Mormon from the island, peaceably if possible—if not, at the range of the rifle. Judging from today's manipulations I have no doubt but they will carry out their plans to the letter, God help them. If half their wrongs and grievances be true, the Mormon kingdom richly deserves extermination."

It is sixty-five years since James Jesse Strang and his band of zealots took possession of this detached bit of land in Lake Michigan, and only green mounds of earth remain to mark the spot where stood "the castle," the wide-roofed "tabernacle," the substantial homes of the resident saints, yet the leader's personality is still vivid, and reading of his wonderful influence gives one even now an uneasy sense of glamour, so potent does it seem to have been with his followers.

Strang and his adherents after their expulsion from Illinois, in 1844, at first settled at Voree, near Burlington, Wisconsin, but two years later this point was abandoned, Strang having discovered the lonely and isolated group of islands in Lake Michigan—the Big and Little Beavers. Only two or three fishermen's families were living there when the Mormons took possession, and these were unceremoniously driven out by the newcomers.

At Washington Island, and near the city of Green Bay, were large fishing hamlets and the inhabitants resented fiercely this high-handed interference with their rights of trade. Jealous spies kept constant watch for Mormon delinquencies and occasion for complaint was not lacking. The saints, conciliatory at first, grew strong enough to fight their own battles and gave vigorous return for the rough treatment received on their first landing from the native islanders.

The isolation of a Highland fastness seems to have brooded over this corner of the northwest. Not twenty miles away lay Mackinac Island with its garrisoned fort, whose officers hardly recked of such a place as Beaver Island. The United States cruiser *Michigan*, plying her route through summer days, sometimes touched at the port of St. James, and her officers made acquaintance with the community's agreeable ruler, James Strang, through formal calls back and forth.

Strang's pretensions grew with his increasing power and culminated when he was formally proclaimed king of Beaver Island and crowned as such on July 8, 1850. The ceremony took place on the wide stretch of turf before his castle, a large wooden structure resembling more a barn than a royal residence; on Strang's head was placed a metal crown with a cluster of stars on its front and the words were pronounced, "God hath chosen His servant James to be King. He hath made him His apostle to all nations. He hath established him a prophet

above the kings of the earth and appointed him King in Zion." Burnt offerings smoked on an altar close by, and the whole ceremony, grotesque though it was in many respects, gained a certain dignity from the seriousness and apparent sincerity of the prophet and his followers. Picturesque the scene certainly was with its setting of green water and diversified woodland, its reverent attentive congregation of saints, the smoke from the rude altar rising dimly toward the blue of the July sky, and the central figure, Strang, in his red robe.

After this ceremony Strang's arrogance knew no bounds, his will became absolute and revolt among his followers ensued as a result. Meanwhile Gentile residents on other islands in the archipelago, as well as those living on the mainland, grew ever more and more impatient of the increasing prosperity which attended the Mormon community. Formal complaint was entered in the United States court at Detroit that fish nets were plundered and destroyed by Beaver Island marauders, that raids were made by them on the mainland for purposes of theft, and that Strang sanctioned a scheme for levying on his Gentile neighbors, which was nothing less than piracy.

Again, as in past summers, the black hulk of the steamer Michigan hove in sight of Grand Beaver Island. It was a day in the middle of June, 1856, warm and bland, and through the still air came a rattling of chains as the cable slipped over the ship's side and splashed in the green water below. King Strang made hasty preparations for a friendly call by invitation of Captain Stewart. As he crossed the wharf to take his seat in a small wherry moored there, two shots rang sharply through the absolute calm of the summer air. The conspirators from among his own people had taken sure aim and Strang fell mortally wounded. He was carried away from the island to die.

In the Green Bay Advocate of July 10, 1856, in black headlines, are the words, "The Mormons—Beaver Island. The authorities of Mackinac and Washington Harbor are forcing all Mormons to leave Beaver Island. Priest Strang, who is slowly recovering, has arrived at Kenosha with a number of his followers. A few have come to this city (Green Bay) with all their traps and calamities. The authorities have fixed a day for them all to leave the island after which no quarter will be shown them."

On that very date Strang was dying; to his colony on Beaver Island no quarter was shown, and the Mormon deportation was in some respects as pathetic as was that of the Acadians from Nova Scotia long years ago.

A fragment of the colony landed at Green Bay and strayed to the town of Pittsfield, where they made a home and were numbered among the best of its early citizens. Along the Door peninsula are still to be found descendants of the Mormon refugees, and in strolling over the pleasant stretches of Beaver Island only a few blackened logs uncovered some seasons since mark the spot where a king in the early fifties was crowned and reigned in our free republic.

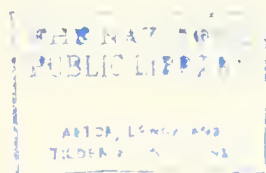
The condition of the industry of brick making around Green Bay may be summarized in the following list of manufactures, their location and product:

Christian Hansen, two and a half miles northeast of Green Bay. Product, hand molded common brick.

Roffers & Albers, south of Green Bay. Common soft mud brick and drain tile, the former both red and cream color.



TWO VIEWS OF THE YARDS OF THE GREEN BAY BRICK
COMPANY



Barkhausen Brick Company, just south of town. Product, both red and cream colored brick, either common or dry press.

John Hockers, south of Green Bay, on the east side of the river. Soft mud common brick, the top clay burning red and the bottom clay white.

John Van Laanen. Common soft mud brick, red with white spots, the latter due to cream burning clay in the mixture.

Duck Creek Brick Company, at Duck Creek, near Green Bay, soft mud common brick, both red and cream color.

Green Bay Brick Company, at Duck Creek, common soft mud brick, both red and cream color.

Brown county's growth, along agricultural lines, has been very great within the past thirty years. It is an interesting study but requires more time and space than can be given in the present history. The Brown County Agricultural Society was inaugurated in 1857, with Henry S. Baird as president. Land was purchased west of Webster avenue, which was then out in the woods, for a fair ground, but the first fair was held on the property now owned by St. Joseph's Academy, in the year preceding the war.

The population is increasing in a greater ratio than the agricultural production and the demand for such produce, independent of outside consumption, is thus continued active and reliable.

The fertility of the soil, and its advantageous location, have made it an especially favorable point for market gardening. The most important work along this line at an early day was done by John M. Smith of Preble. In the month of October, 1866, Smith purchased three acres of land, with the intention of making a market garden. It was the year the demand for products was immediate, more land was purchased, the business grew and extended until about fifty acres were put under cultivation. This successful experiment in gardening was an incentive to the whole country around. Smaller truck gardens were planted in every direction until the whole county is under cultivation. The report from the Smith gardens for one year was 100,000 bushels of carrots and turnips, 3,000 bushels of onions, and 30,000 bunches of celery, and 100,000 cabbages. Today the figures are far beyond anything imagined at an early day.

Father André, in 1672, kept a record of the rise and fall of the tide in the bay, and for two centuries this phenomena, observable along the great lakes and especially noticeable in Lake Michigan's estuary, Green Bay, was commented upon by explorers and travelers. Governor Cass and his party, coming to Fort Howard in 1820, encamped on the west bank of Fox river, "a mile above its discharge into the bay," and here the governor ordered a stake to be driven at the water's edge in order to observe the rise and fall of the tide. Schoolcraft notes in his journal, "The junction of Fox river with Green Bay affords one of the most favorable positions for witnessing a phenomenon which has attracted the attention of travelers from the earliest times, without, however, as yet, having elicited any very satisfactory explanation of an apparently reversed order of nature. I allude to the appearances of a regular tide at this place. In the year 1689 the Baron La Hontan, on reaching Green Bay, remarks that where the Fox river is discharged into the bay he observed the water of the lake swell three feet high, in the space of twenty-four hours, and decrease as much in the same length of time. In 1721 Charlevoix remarks similar appear-

ances.* * * In 1819 Captain Henry Whiting, of the United States army, made a series of observations during seven or eight days, upon these oceanic appearances which serve to show that the water at Green Bay has a rise and fall daily but that it is irregular as to the precise period of flux and reflux and also as to the height it attains. It appeared from frequently inspecting this gauge during the period of our stay, that there was a considerable rise and fall of the water—that there was a difference as to the time consumed in passing from its minimum to its maximum height, and that although it arose against a strong wind blowing out of the river, the rise, under these circumstances, was less than in ordinary cases."

BRIDGES

The bridges in Brown county, at an early day, were built at the expense of the county, the first one being built at De Pere. This was a floating bridge, which dipped perilously when a heavy team passed over it. Green Bay depended entirely on ferry service until 1862, when Walnut street bridge was built. Throughout the county the question of bridges was a serious one. There were many streams like Ashwaubenon creek, Duck creek, the Suamico river, and other good sized streams that required substantial bridging, and caused the county much expense and a constant drain. The county board was kept busy as settlement increased, discussing the best and most economical kind of bridge to be put in the float bridge being the one most used, and on December 14, 1851, a contract was let for a bridge on Duck creek to John P. Arndt. The board voted to have a "good and permanent bridge built on Duck creek where the float bridge now is. Such bridge to be built twelve feet wide with four abutments, to have good sound two inch plank, and good railing on each side, and be six feet above the usual high water, good substantial string pieces, well finished, and the ends of said bridge are to be graded and filled in such a manner that it will be easy to get on and off."

The first bridge across Fox river was built at De Pere in 1850-51 and a float bridge across East river in 1856, but the ferry did service between Green Bay and Fort Howard until Walnut street bridge was built in 1862.

The bridges now put in by the board throughout the county are usually of stone or concrete, solid and good to look at, with low parapet and strong piers.

A fine steel bridge connects the two De Peres and there is also one at Wrightstown and across Plum creek. Bridging Fox river at Green Bay are three, for passengers and vehicles, the one across Walnut street being a large leaf bascule structure completed in 1910. The Manitowoc extension line of the Chicago & Northwestern has a solidly built stone structure crossing Fox river in Allouez, the Kewaunee & Western has one at the mouth of Fox river, as has also the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul just north of Porlier street.

(Reference for Chapter XXVII: State Agricultural Reports.)

CHAPTER XXVIII

COUNTY AND TOWN INSTITUTIONS

The institutions under the control of the county board are the Brown county poor farm, the county asylum in the town of Preble and the county workhouse, the latter in the town of Ashwaubenon, erected in 1895. The management of these institutions is excellent. The State reformatory in the town of Allouez, a large institution, is located on high ground overlooking the river and on the line of the East De Pere electric line.

On September 16, 1892, a franchise was granted to Jackson I. Case and Charles H. Holmes to construct and operate a street railway, "the cars to be run by electricity" in Green Bay, and in July, 1894, the first car made its initial trip under the name of the Fox River Electric Company. The Green Bay Traction Company now operates interurban lines to Duck Creek, East De Pere, West De Pere and Little Rapids, and connects on the west side at Kaukauna with a continuous line to Oshkosh and other Fox river valley cities. Ridge Point, a beautiful and extensive park on the shores of Fox river, is owned by the Interurban Traction Company.

On August 24, 1894, David McCartney, of Fort Howard, obtained a charter from the city council to construct an electric railway in the city of Fort Howard. The road was incorporated and built by McCartney that same year. The road ran from Broadway west on Kellogg street to Oakland avenue, south on that street to Union park then east on Third street to Broadway and north to the starting point. It proved a great convenience to a limited number but was discontinued after a few years, the Traction Company gaining control of the line. The electric interurban runs through the towns of Howard, Ashwaubenon, Lawrence, De Pere, Allouez, and a continuation of the Green Bay street railway takes in part of the town of Preble.

BROWN COUNTY BAR

The Brown County Bar Association was organized April 4, 1857, with Henry S. Baird, president, and E. H. Ellis, secretary. Thirteen members signed the constitution: David Agry, James H. Howe, J. F. Loy, Joseph F. Dickenson, Timothy O. Howe, Myron P. Lindsley, John Last, John C. Neville, James S. Baker, S. B. A. Haynes, Orlo B. Graves and B. J. Brown. H. S. Baird continued to preside until his death in 1875. He was succeeded by John C. Neville. On the death of Mr. Neville in 1898, E. H. Ellis became the president of the bar and he in turn was succeeded by John H. M. Wigman, the present incumbent.

In 1861 when the county was divided into three districts the system of supervisors was changed to the one originally in use, of three commis-

sioners, one for each district to administer the affairs of the county. The last meeting of the old board of supervisors was held December 18, 1861, "which is the last session of the Brown County Legislature," so the clerk, M. P. Lindsley records. The members of this last board of supervisors, according to the old law, were: John Last, chairman; Charles L. Wheelock, Green Bay city; John P. Dousman, Bellevue; Roswell Morris, Fort Howard; Con Doherty, Glenmore; D. Duquaine, Green Bay; L. LaPlante, Scott; J. Jubelius, Humboldt; B. Hart, Holland; Dominick Brunette, Jr., Howard; D. Harkness, Lawrence; Chris Knutz, Morrison; Caspar Hansen, New Denmark; Patrick Burns, Eaton; C. P. Aldrich, Preble; H. P. Hayden, Pittsfield; William Cashman, Rockland; John Brill, Suamico; R. G. Thompson, Wrightstown; J. S. King, De Pere; William Field, Jr., Village of De Pere.

The first commissioners under the new law were Henry S. Baird, chairman; Randall Wilcox, De Pere; and Chauncey N. Aldrich, Preble; and was called the "New County Board." These commissioners held until January 11, 1864, when Randall Wilcox and Henry S. Baird were replaced by John Last and Michael Quinn, C. N. Aldrich continuing from the former board. In 1866, John Last, C. N. Aldrich and James Buck in place of Quinn. January 2, 1867, H. S. Baird, William Cashman, Rockland; and C. N. Aldrich; 1868, Henry S. Baird, William J. Fisk, Patrick Hobbins. The last three were serving in May, 1871, when the former system of a supervisor for each town was resumed. Frederick S. Ellis was elected chairman. The other members constituting the board at their first meeting were: Joseph Thomas, Bellevue; John Cook, De Pere; B. F. Smith, De Pere village; Joseph Dunk, Eaton; W. J. Fisk, Fort Howard; Gerhard Oldenburgh, Fort Howard; J. J. Rasmussen, Fort Howard; Andrew E. Elmore, Fort Howard; Cornelius Doherty, Glenmore; Guillaume Mainsart, Green Bay; W. C. E. Thomas, Green Bay; Christian Woelz, Green Bay; Patrick Dockry, Holland; Guillaume Tillens, Humboldt; David Harkness, Lawrence; John G. Grosse, Morrison; Matthew Lewis, New Denmark.

The office of County Clerk was inaugurated with the first meeting of the County Board of Supervisors in 1848. The following is the list of those who have held office in Brown county since that date, to the present time.

LIST OF COUNTY CLERKS

John V. Suydam, 1849-1850.
 Earl S. Goodrich, 1851-1852.
 William Field, Jr., 1853-1854.
 Myron P. Lindsley, 1855-1856.
 Lucian B. Wright, 1857-1858.
 Oscar Gray, 1859-1860.
 Myron P. Lindsley, 1861-1868.
 John B. Eugene, 1869-1870.
 Matthew J. Meade, 1871-1879.
 Patrick Ryan, 1879-1892.
 Dan H. Martin, 1893-1904.
 Elmer S. Hall, 1905-1913.

LIST OF THE CHAIRMEN OF THE COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS FROM 1848 TO 1913

Randall Wilcox, De Pere, 1848-1852.
 Jonathan Wheelock, Lawrence, 1852-1853.
 John P. Arndt, Green Bay Borough, 1853-1854.
 Jonathan Wheelock, 1854. Disqualified by removal from town of Lawrence.
 Andrew Reid, elected to chairmanship.
 Daniel W. King, Green Bay city, 1855-1856.
 John P. Arndt, 1856-1857.
 Lorenzo Brown, Bellevue, 1857-1858.
 David Agry, Green Bay city, 1858-1860.
 John Last, Green Bay city, 1860-1861.
 Henry S. Baird, Green Bay city, 1861-1864.
 John Last, 1864-1867.
 Henry S. Baird, 1867-1870.
 Frederick S. Ellis, Green Bay city, 1870-1876.
 John Last, 1876-1878.
 B. F. Smith, De Pere, 1878-1879.
 J. J. Rasmussen, Ashwaubenon, 1879-1884.
 M. P. Persons, De Pere, 1884-1887.
 J. J. Rasmussen, 1887-1895.
 Henry F. Hagemeister, Green Bay city, 1895-1898.
 John M. Hogan, Preble, 1898-1899.
 Anton Boex, De Pere, 1899-1900.
 H. F. Hagemeister, 1900-1904.
 Paul Scheuring, West De Pere, 1904-1913.

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS FOR BROWN COUNTY 1912-1913

The present list of supervisors is Paul Scheuring, chairman; W. E. Burdeau, vice chairman; Elmer S. Hall, clerk.

Green Bay City—

First Ward, Chris Vande Sande.
 Second Ward, Joseph L. Thomas.
 Third Ward, August Bodart.
 Fourth Ward, N. Feldhausen.
 Fifth Ward, E. W. Servotte.
 Sixth Ward, James Reed.
 Seventh Ward, Fred A. Bowser.
 Eighth Ward, T. J. Oliver.

De Pere City—

First Ward, Fred Altmayer.
 Second Ward, Jacob Guerts.
 Third Ward, Paul Scheuring.
 Fourth Ward, William Counihan.
 Allouez—Eric Wiese.
 Ashwaubenon—M. J. Malloy.
 Bellevue—Peter Boerschinger.
 Depere—John Denoble.
 Eaton—John Rozek.

Glenmore—Walter Brotski.
 Green Bay—Desire Ferrier.
 Hobart—J. A. Powless.
 Holland—Patrick Setright.
 Howard—George J. Cormier.
 Humboldt—Herman Heurkens.
 Lawrence—Thomas Cavit.
 Morrison—Tim E. Dorsey.
 New Denmark—H. F. Buckman.
 Pittsfield—E. G. Boyden.
 Preble—Phil. Haeyers.
 Rockland—Thomas Dillon.
 Scott—Edward Greenwood.
 Suamico—W. E. Burdeau.
 Wrightstown—John F. Manders.
 Wrightstown Village—Lewis Knuth.
 Pulaski Village—H. T. Peplinski.

The present handsome and commodious courthouse was finished in 1910, at a cost of \$400,000. The special committee having the erection of the court house in charge were: Paul Scheuring, W. E. Burdeau, F. A. Bowser, Chas. Caughlin, Thos. Dillon, Jos. H. Servotte, H. E. Metzner.

On entering the building the mural decorations attract instant attention, two large paintings representing the "Landing of Jean Nicolet" and "Old Fort Howard," the latter from the well known daguerreotype taken in 1851. How Major Haller, an officer stationed at Fort Howard in 1850, told in a letter written some years ago how the picture was taken: "I employed an artist then in Green Bay to take a daguerreotype of Old Fort Howard in October, 1851, from the balcony of Thomas Green's hotel, the Washington House. He left his camera open too long the first trial, and agreed to count fifteen only, and then close it. On the second trial I was to pay the price of the picture whether good, bad or indifferent.

"The second trial was a most perfect success. The buildings and flags were perfect but above all the blue of the sky and white clouds were there, true to nature in color as well as form.

"While the artist was taking the scene I stood on the small board wharf running out into the river as if I had just landed while the boatmen were in the act of shoving the boat away."

It is fitting that the history of Brown county should close with this last glimpse of the old fort, which is perpetuated by the County Board on the spacious walls of the new courthouse. As years go by, and the county increases in wealth and importance the sources from which all this prosperity and progress have sprung, the first epoch-making years of Brown county will grow in value and interest.

As those who lived in the old time took pride in their county, in its gradual growth and widening influence and were intensely loyal to the vision of its greatness; so we of today should be doubly proud of old Brown, for its great past history, for its grasp of higher economic conditions, for its beauty of landscape, its unexhausted resources and the promise of greater good that it holds for the coming years.



BROWN COUNTY COURTHOUSE

ASTON, LEROX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

BROWN COUNTY MISCELLANY

T. O. HOWE POST NO. 124

T. O. Howe Post, No. 124, Department of Wisconsin, Grand Army of the Republic, was organized December 29, 1883, with the following charter members: Dennis J. Murphy, Joseph Rubens, A. Howland, B. F. Garlock, Leander Blair, John Atkinson, Alex Gillis, Chas. M. Daggett, J. P. Macy, James Sprague, J. H. Leonard, J. I. Foote, Charles Enoch, E. A. Phillips, H. J. Huntington, Nicholas Gill, Edward Lefebvre, John B. Willis, Chas. Photenhauer, Michael Durocher, W. T. Moger, Julius Schraum, B. C. Brett, O. L. Harder, John M. Shoemaker, Ernst Nebel. H. J. Huntington, post commander; John Shoemaker, adjutant. At present, Edward P. Weise is post commander, and Julian W. Hinkley, adjutant. The Post has quarters in the Brown county court house.

FIRST BASEBALL TEAM IN BROWN COUNTY

A recital of historical events "up to date" could not be said to be complete without mentioning matters pertaining to our great national sport—baseball. In this respect, Green Bay can lay claim to being well up among the first to start a club to play games with clubs in other cities. In 1866, on May 5th, a meeting was held in Empire hall, located in the Earl building where the Kellogg bank now stands. At this meeting the following officers were elected: President, A. W. Kimball; vice president, J. Leslie Cady; secretary, John M. Norris; treasurer, Seymour Butler; directors, John J. Tracy, L. S. Saner and Charles D. Suydam. The name adopted for the club was the "Stars." Great enthusiasm was shown at this meeting and it was decided to commence practicing at once. A committee was appointed to locate a ground and this committee selected and laid out a field in the block on Monroe street between Quincy, Doty and Stuart, the home base being about where the Lowert house now stands. Only a part of the infield was actually fit for ball purposes, in the vicinity of second and third base, and beyond, and it was all stubble and hillocks from the roots of old cedars and hazel bushes, but it served a purpose to commence with and practice was diligently and very patiently pursued at stated times, when weather would permit, for about a month.

A second meeting was called on June 8th, and at this meeting quite a membership was enrolled and two teams were selected from among those who showed they could play. Again practicing was pursued and on July 4th two teams were mustered up and played their first game for the public to witness. Owing to the many other attractions for that day there was a very small attendance and only five innings were played, the score being 24 to 35. The game

was brought to an abrupt ending by a piece of playing not exactly according to the rules. L. S. Saner, who was pitching, and Chet G. Wilcox, who was catching for one of the sides, took it into their heads to both try to catch the same fly ball, the result was much like two trains approaching and trying to pass each other on the same track—result, a collision, Wilcox's elbow found a lodging plump in Saner's mouth. The damage done consisted in two of Saner's teeth disappearing in some way which were never found and Wilcox lying stunned for a while on the ground.

In the meantime Oshkosh was waking up and organized a club under the name of "Everetts," of which Henry (Hank) Harshaw was one of the moving spirits. He paid a visit to this city and proposed that the two clubs meet in the near future and play a game. It was finally decided and the first game was played in this city on August 30th. The team representing the "Stars" consisted of A. W. Kimball, catcher; L. S. Saner, pitcher; John M. Norris, short-stop; Leslie Cady, first base; Chet. G. Wilcox, second base; Seymour Butler, third base; Himes, left field; Charles Suydam, right field; and John J. Tracy, center field. The grounds they had up to this time were hardly fit to play games on with outside teams so a new location was found "upon the hill" in the block surrounded by Jackson, Van Buren, Chicago and Mason streets, an ideal and good level field being found there, and the game with the Oshkosh team took place there. The game resulted in a victory for the Oshkosh boys by a score of 51 to 48, the visitors making 17 runs in their first inning while the home boys scored but a lone run in theirs. After this first inning, however, the boys seemed to have recovered from their apparent "stage fright" so they kept steadily reducing this big lead for the next three innings. In the next two innings, however, the visitors scored 10 runs to the Stars 5, but in the last three innings the boys scored 19 runs to the visitors 5, having given the visitors two "goose eggs"—considered wonderful in those days.

A return game was arranged for to be played at Oshkosh on September 11th. A little change was made in the lineup of the Stars, Mather Kimball and Fred W. Basche playing instead of Himes and Tracy, Kimball playing at third, Butler and Basche in the field. In this game both teams showed excellent training.

FELIX JOANNES.

THE COMING OF THE FIRST GERMANS

In 1842 the first Germans arrived in Brown county, settling in and about Green Bay. Of these Mr. Albert Weise was first to land here, having met Judge Arndt in Newark, New Jersey, who persuaded him to travel with him, promising him employment in his shipyards located on the shore of Fox river, corner of Washington and Stuart streets. Mr. Weise hailed from Saxe-Thüringen, a most beautiful and romantic country; many of our Germans were at home in this picturesque land of the Thüringer wald or forest.

After a few years of hard work at building carts and carpentering in the Arndt shipyards Mr. Weise built wagon-shops on Walnut street, corner of Madison, being a wagon-maker by trade, giving employment to many Germans. His good mother, Caroline Weise Straubel (by second marriage) with her husband, arrived in 1847, making a home for themselves and children on



THE STARS—FIRST BASEBALL TEAM IN BROWN COUNTY

(From Left to Right of Picture)

Jack Parish—Mather Kimball—John Day—Will King—Chet Wilcox—Lewis Tyler
E. J. Shaylor—George Saulsbury—A. Weston Kimball

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ASTOR, LENOX, AND
TILDEN FOUNDATION

Monroe avenue, close to Walnut street. There the good people harbored all Germans coming from the long and perilous journey, giving a bed of straw and comforter on the attic floor when no other space was available, but always brotherly love and harborage for the stranger in a strange land. Among those who found shelter here were Albert and Fred Scheller, of Thüringen, the former a tailor, the latter a millwright who became a much respected farmer of Preble. Descendants of both reside in Green Bay and on the Preble farm. The Zeutzius family of Bay Settlement arrived on the same boat with Mr. Weise. Heinrich Möller, Carl, Edward and Emil Rothe arrived a few years later. The first mentioned, with the aid of Mr. Kapp, built the Moravian church in 1852.

Joseph Fohrman, Paul Fox and Mr. Juley, a tailor, arrived the latter part of 1842, emigrating from Cochem-on-the-Rhine. Mr. Fohrman erected the first brick building in the county, a two-story square house with flat roof on which Mamebach's band gave a concert to celebrate the completion of so stately a home in the wilds of Brown county. The brick used was shipped from Buffalo. This house stands on Adams street between Doty and Stuart. The roof has been changed and an addition built, and members of the Fohrman family occupy the home.

The first German sermon was preached in the old Presbyterian church, corner Crooks and Adams streets by Rev. Otto Tank. Later Rev. Fett preached in German in the then newly built Moravian church, facing Jackson square. The German Catholics worshiped in a small frame church on the site of Allouez cemetery. The building burned down after a Christmas midnight mass.

In 1850 The "British Queen," an English steamer on her first voyage, brought many Germans, happy in the thought of meeting their dear ones in Brown county. Storms delayed the voyage, so that after thirty-eight days on the ocean, the steamer found refuge on the coast of New Foundland, landing at New York a few days later. A smaller steamer carried the tired passengers up the beautiful Hudson river to Albany, then came an eleven day's journey on a canal-boat to Buffalo, New York, where a few days were passed awaiting the "Michigan," the only steamer plying between Buffalo and Green Bay and then but once a month. The landing of the steamer was always welcomed by crowds of villagers gathering on the shore. The voyage on the canal-boat was both uncomfortable and dangerous. Iron rails furnished beds and on previous voyages two lives were crushed out by "low bridge." Those who missed the steamer walked through forests, rode a stretch, then walked again, the walk being from Manitowoc to Green Bay through woods where Indians lurked. Baggage of feather-beds and clothing was left in a warehouse at Manitowoc, from whence it was hauled on sleds after creeks and marshes were frozen over.

In the loneliness of the woods and village these Christian people spent their lives, their enjoyment being a visit with friends, a book which some one had thoughtfully packed for the long voyage, the Bible and song-book.

Lured to a far-away land by exaggerated tales they toiled in garden and home, cleared away the forests or worked at a trade while the village grew into a city, the woods into farms. Their motto:

"Honest joy, honest sorrow,

Honest work for the day, honest hope for the morrow."

AUGUSTA MILLER.

Among the well known old German-Americans of Green Bay, Wisconsin, is Gerhard Bong, fire insurance agent and notary public. He landed in New York on a small sail vessel, named "Alberta," from Antwerp seaport, on the 3d day of June, 1857, at the age of sixteen. The "Alberta" was one of the first boats that landed its passengers at the "Cassel Garden," which building had been erected by a German society of New York for the sole purpose of furnishing a safe "landing place" for German emigrants, and for their protection against the thieves and cutthroats, so numerous at emigrant landing places in New York at that time. In 1859 G. Bong came to Green Bay, and in the course of a few years' residence here, made the acquaintance of many of the earlier German-Americans, especially during the twelve years when he was public officer of the city and county, from 1874 to 1886. Among these Germans was Paul Fox, father of Bishop Fox. He came to Green Bay in 1841. Joseph Fohrmann, a merchant, came about 1847. Jacob July, father of Rev. N. July, came here in 1844. Philip Franks, a well-known citizen, worked for Uncle George Langton in his "One Muley" saw-mill in the town of Big Suamico, in 1838. Albert Weise, wagonmaker, came in 1842, and the Straubels about 1847. The Salscheider's family, John A. Salscheider, at one time city treasurer of Fort Howard, came in 1848. Mr. Mannebach, the great musician-fiddler with his family came also about 1848, he was the father-in-law of Bartolome Salscheider, a brother of John A., former city treasurer of Fort Howard. Mrs. Theodore Kemnitz' father, John Simon, and a brother, came here in 1847. Mr. Anthony Basche's (the former shoe merchant) parents came here about 1847, and about the same year came Jacob Mueller (Miller) and family, father of Mathew Miller, deceased, the housemover, and father of John and Nickolas Miller now of Green Bay. Mr. Mueller's residence was at the east end of Mason street bridge on the banks of the Fox river. Among other German-Americans that came during 1849, were Jacob Klaus, a shoemaker, and his five sons, Anton, Philip, Joseph, Charles and John Klaus. Philip is the father of H. P. Klaus, cashier of the Citizens National Bank of Green Bay. Anton Klaus was for many years one of Green Bay's foremost business men. Among the German-Americans that came here in 1852, was the late Mathias Holzknecht, a well-known citizen, and John Beth, a well-known retired merchant, and his brothers, Jacob, Joseph, and Frank, Joseph J. Leisch, father of Frank Leisch, the Main street baker. The well-known citizen, Judge J. H. Killian, and his uncle, Peter P. Buerschinger, came in 1852. Andreas Reis, father of present county treasurer, Andrew Reis, came about 1852 and started a hotel on or near the lot where the present Reis hotel is located.—*Contributed.*

SKETCH OF THE HUMBOLDT CONGREGATION

Early in the '50s a log church was built by Rev. Father Daems, at Sugarbush, a place settled by Walloons, most of them coming from Namur and Louvain, Belgium. The great fire of 1871 destroyed this church. People were not discouraged and soon a new frame church was built. In 1904 this church again made place for the handsome building which is the pride of the Sugarbush people. It was erected under the supervision of Rev. F. Van Nistelroy. The church of Humboldt was built in 1872, upon a piece of land donated by J. B.

Tasquin. It was attended by the priest from the Finger church, Preble, until 1878, when Rev. Pellegrin was appointed resident pastor of Humboldt. There is something remarkable about Rev. G. Pellegrin in connection with the Humboldt parish. "In the year 1860, Rev. Father Wilkins, pastor of Robinsonville, Champion, came to Humboldt and said Mass in the house of J. B. Tasquin. After Mass he blessed the churchground and the graveyard. Rev. G. Pellegrin was then fourteen years of age and he served at the Mass and at the blessing of the graveyard and churchground." In 1904 Rev. F. Van Nilstelroy built a new residence for the priest and in 1908 the old church of Humboldt was torn down to make place for a new one, which is to be seen today.

Finger church received its name from Peter Faenger, the first German settler in the town of Preble, who about 1836 built a church and donated a large tract of land for its support. As there was no resident priest Faenger conducted a simple service himself unless a priest from St. John's at Green Bay could make a visitation.—*Contributed.*

WASHINGTON LODGE—GREEN BAY

A paper read before the Masonic Lodge by Judge Carlton Merrell.

MASONRY

I have been requested by the committee of Washington Lodge, on this occasion to make a few remarks relative to the early rise and progress of Free Masonry in Green Bay. The matters being, as a matter of course, far beyond my personal knowledge or recollection, I can do no better than read to you extracts from an interesting address delivered by Hon. H. S. Baird before the members of this lodge on St. John's Day, December 27, 1854. His words will carry with them more of authority than anything I might possibly say and be of peculiar interest, coming as they do from the late master of old Menomonee, the first lodge established west of Detroit and the first master of Washington Lodge after its reorganization as Washington Lodge under the jurisdiction of the grand lodge of the state of Wisconsin.

Mr. Baird said (and remember that he is speaking in 1854, fifty-seven years ago):

I regret that, from the lapse of time, the proceedings and records of the first lodge here are so imperfect as to require me to state from memory many facts which I had hoped to have found matter of record.

The first action had, with a view to organize a lodge of Masonry at Green Bay, are found in the proceedings of a meeting of members of the fraternity, held on the evening of December 27, 1823, at the home of a brother, now deceased, (George Johnson), who then resided on a farm on the west side of Fox river, now forming a part of the plat of Tank's addition to the town of Fort Howard. At that meeting were present the following members of the order: Majors Watson and Green, Captain Browning, Lieutenants Lewis and Dean, Surgeons Wheaton and Saterlee, all officers of the United States army, and George Johnson, S. Wheeler and D. Curtis, citizens. A committee was appointed to draft a petition to the grand lodge of the state of New York,

praying for a dispensation to open a lodge of Free and Accepted Masons at Green Bay, then in the territory of Michigan. In due time the prayer of the petitioners was responded to, and a dispensation granted.

The light of Masonry which made its appearance at any point of the United States, north or west of Detroit, first shone at Green Bay; it was the fore-runner of civilization and the introduction of the arts; the harbinger of peace and good will among men.

On the 2d day of September, A. D. 1824, the first regular lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was opened and organized at Fort Howard, directly opposite to the city, under a dispensation from the M. W. grand master of the grand lodge of the state of New York, that body being at the time the most accessible and one of the nearest grand lodges in the United States. The document, by virtue of which the lodge was opened, signed by Martin Hoffman as M. W. grand master and E. Hicks, W. G. secretary is now preserved in this lodge. The officers named in the dispensation for the new lodge were: Robert Irwin, sr. master; Benjamin Watson, sr., and W. V. Wheaton, jr. wardens. The name of the lodge was Menomonee. It derived its name from the tribe of Indians then inhabiting and owning a vast extent of territory, nearly co-extensive with the limits of the present state of Wisconsin—then a numerous and powerful band, but daily diminishing in strength and power and rapidly approximating to that condition which seems to be the inevitable fate of the aboriginal races.

At the opening and organization, the following named members of the order were present: Robert Irwin, sr. master; W. V. Wheaton, sr. warden, pro tem; A. Lewis, jr. warden, pro tem; and Harrison, Curtis, Saterlee, Dean, McNeal, Green, and Johnson, master Masons. All of these members, except three, were officers of the Third Regiment, U. S. Infantry, four companies of that regiment being then stationed at Fort Howard, under the command of Colonel John McNeal, who was also a Mason, and a member of the Menomonee Lodge.

On the 3d of December, 1824, a regular charter was granted by the R. W. grand lodge of New York, to establish Menomonee Lodge. The document was signed by Martin Hoffman as grand master; Elisha W. King, deputy grand master; Richard Hotfield, senior grand warden; Watson Smith, junior grand warden, and E. Hicks, grand secretary; and in it Robert Irwin, Sr., was nominated as master; Benjamin Watson, senior, and W. V. Wheaton, junior wardens. This charter is still preserved in the archives of this lodge. Within a very short time of its organization the lodge received a very respectable accession to its members, for we find by the records that on the anniversary of St. John, December 27, 1824, it numbered twenty-one members.

In December, 1824, Dr. W. V. Wheaton was elected master; Dr. R. S. Saterlee, senior warden, and Robert Irwin, Jr., junior warden; D. Curtis, secretary; Lieutenant Hopson, treasurer; Lieutenants Morris and Dean, deacons, and Sergeant Gilman, tyler. From the organization of the lodge to the end of the year 1825 it was held in the upper room over the commissary's store at, or adjacent to, Fort Howard, and during this period it might be considered as in a great degree a military lodge, as it was held at a military post and a large majority of its members and officers were attached to the army. In the fall of

1825, however, the officers expressed a desire that the lodge should be removed from the fort and that its future government should be placed in the hands of the citizen members of Green Bay. Accordingly in the fall of that year Menomonee Lodge was removed from the fort to a room prepared for that purpose in the old store, then and still owned by John P. Arndt in Astor, the south ward of the city, where it continued to meet for upwards of a year. In December, 1825, Robert Irwin, Jr., was elected master; R. Irwin, Sr., senior warden, and Geo. Johnson, junior warden; Dickinson, secretary; Benj. Wallace, treasurer; H. S. Baird, senior, and L. Rouse, junior deacons; Gilman, tyler.

In December, 1826, H. S. Baird was elected master; Lieutenant Henry Smith, senior warden; William Dickinson, junior warden; A. J. Irwin, secretary; L. Rouse, treasurer; N. G. Bean and Samuel Irwin, deacons, and C. Mills, tyler. From the year 1827 to its close, no record exists of the proceedings or of the meetings of the Menomonee Lodge, and all that can be stated in relation to its action must be from the recollections of its surviving members. The officers last named, with one or two exceptions, continued to discharge the duties of their respective stations until the lodge ceased to work, which it did in the year 1830. I had the honor to preside over the old lodge for the last four years of its existence; as also over the present one in the last four years of its infancy.

Menomonee Lodge continued its regular communications and exercised the functions of a lodge until some time in the year 1830, when it ceased to work. During the years 1826-27 the lodge was held in a small building then standing on the line of private claim No. 10, and just south of the present boundary of this city.

In the fall of 1827 it was removed to an upper room over the store of R. & A. J. Irwin, in what was called "Shanty Town," where it continued to meet until its close. The discontinuance of the meetings of the lodge was owing to several causes, but principally to the dispersion and separation of its members, many of them, as already remarked, were attached to the army, and these members, in obedience to the call of duty, were obliged to repair to other military posts, to form new associations; they in effect dissolving Menomonee Lodge, and severing the ties of friendship and fraternity which had so long existed between its members. That lodge was not afterwards convened. It had its existence under the patronage of the grand lodge of New York; from that body it derived its warrant of dispensation and its charter. During the period of its continuance it was amenable only to the R. Worshipful Body from whom it received its charter; and never acknowledged the authority of any other superior, although a grand lodge had been organized in Detroit for the state of Michigan previous to its cessation. Thus terminated the labors of the oldest lodge ever established in northern Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa or Minnesota.

But is it fair, brethren, to say that Menomonee Lodge no longer exists? It is true, the name appears not on the roll of the grand lodge of Wisconsin. It is equally true that her records are mutilated and destroyed, and that many of her worthy members have returned to their kindred earth. But in spirit and truth it still survives. The name has given way to that of the immortal and venerated Washington—a name revered by all good and worthy Masons. This lodge was organized on the application of the surviving members of the old one, and others

who had become citizens here; it will be found that at least half of the petitioners for the formation of the new lodge had been members of the old one. Again, the jewels, now worn by the officers of Washington lodge, as well as a part of the furniture and implements, were the property of the old Menomonee—and above all, the same principles of brotherly love and fellowship actuate and govern us, which once united and harmonized our worthy predecessors.

Thus, then, in fact Washington lodge is but a revival or re-organization of the old pioneer; and although by our present charter, and the records of the grand lodge of this state this lodge is numbered 21 yet its members may justly be considered as representatives of the worthy brethren who first introduced Masonry into Wisconsin and gave to her a local habitation and a name.

FAUNA OF BROWN COUNTY—INTERESTING PAPERS BY BROWN COUNTY WRITERS

INSECT LIVES

By W. J. Parkes

In this little article my desire has been, not so much to impart knowledge to as to induce others to acquire it for themselves. I have endeavored to show that Brown county may be full of interest to all who care to make good use of their eyes. If I have failed, the fault rests with me for the way in which I have treated the subject. I am aware that I have occasionally used words and phrases which may puzzle young brains, but I hope that nearly all will be intelligible to boys and girls with a little explanation from parents or teachers.

How shall we interest young people? How shall we *most* interest them? How shall we *best* interest them?

You give to your boy a glass ball. It is clear and beautiful. He can amuse himself with it. How? Not by studying it, but by rolling or catching it. Tell him to put the ball under a glass cover and watch it. Tell him to wait and look again and see what he will find. Nothing, he says, but a ball. He is right, man made it, and all the beauty it will ever have it has now. Give him a microscope. What does he see? A little coarser texture, perhaps a flaw, a bubble of compressed air, but only the same glass ball.

Go with him to the forest. Pick from an oak branch a plain brown ball. Is this only a ball? Put it under a glass. Look again and you will find it more than a ball. It is a home. The home of a gall fly, or cynipidae. The doors will soon open and the family disperse. Watch! There goes one in full dress out on an early promenade. With what ease and grace it walks up and down its prison of glass. Another follows. There is a large family for so small a house. Who built it? Was it cast in a mold by man? Nature made it, and all the beauty it has is not seen at first. Take the microscope. No roughness is revealed, no flaw, but exquisite beauty and finish in every part of the house, in every part of each perfect inmate. Suppose a boy could buy a glass ball that would develop such wonderful secrets? What merchant could supply the market?

Go into the woods in the spring of the year; pluck off a walnut leaf. It is very small, no larger than a beechnut, and looking much like a green one. Is it a box? Let us try the microscope. It is embroidered on the sides and back. There are small patterns in diamonds, in brown and drab. While you look it moves.

Put it under a glass and watch. Is it a home? Put a bit of walnut leaf by it. What is that moving just under one of the pointed ends? It is a head. The leaf begins to disappear. The owner of the box, the *himacodes scapha*, is taking his morning meal.

This paper is written with the hope of getting this question answered in favor of living balls and boxes, of getting the key into the hand and getting the heart ready and anxious to unlock the many sources of beauty and interest which nature has placed about us.

There are many young persons who are interested in butterflies and moths especially and desire a further acquaintance with these attractive creatures, but they need instruction as to the beginning—how to capture and how to prepare and preserve them. Also, how to obtain perfect insects by rearing the caterpillars or larvae that produce them. The first and best lesson in the study of insects is the rearing of a butterfly from the egg. One learns more of entomology by this than by any other method. It induces boys and I hope girls to gather caterpillars and rear butterflies just for the novelty of the thing, while unconsciously they will be learning valuable lessons in observing natural objects.

What is more attractive than a fine collection of the exquisitely colored and infinitely varied butterflies and moths? And yet more than half the charm and interest in these winged beauties is lost to those who merely catch them in a net and pin them up in their cabinets. As I have said previously, they can only be obtained and preserved in all their beauty and purity by rearing them from the egg or the caterpillar through the chrysalis state to that of the perfect butterfly. This can be done with very little trouble with the aid of a few glass boxes, easily constructed, in which the captured caterpillars may be imprisoned and fed, where all their wonderful transformations may be watched—the change to the chrysalis state, the weaving of the curiously made cocoon, and after their long winter sleep the bursting of these with the birth of the butterfly, a fully developed thing of beauty.

Chrysalis and cocoon may be collected in the autumn, especially by those who are fortunate enough to have suburban or country homes, which can be preserved during their long winter sleep, so that early spring butterflies may be enjoyed along with the snow drops and early spring flowers and a store of enthusiasm laid in for the early collection of eggs and caterpillars in the spring, so that the whole process of each transformation can be watched, whereby the ugly caterpillar is changed as by magic to the beautiful butterfly.

It would be better if the child of today would collect these beautiful objects of nature than read trashy story books of the day. Even grown-up people would find the study of nature a fit emblem of the soul.

Speaking of some of the most injurious pests of Brown county, the following may be included:

Orgyia leucostigma, commonly called the Tussock moth, is a regular summer visitor. Notice the shade trees, how they are frightfully riddled with the caterpillars. Many cities have appropriated large sums yearly to counteract the ravages of the pests which destroy the leaves of the trees, especially the maple and elm. The male species of this one has four drab colored wings, while the female is wingless. Spraying the trees will do much to allay the ravages of this summer pest.

Another insect which I have noticed in our county is the thick-legged Buprestis, or snapping beetle, the generic name of which is *Chrysobothris femorata* Fabricius. This is an apple tree borer. The parent insect deposits its eggs on the bark, from which a worm hatches, which passes through the bark and during the first periods of its life consumes the soft sap wood immediately under the bark. But when the worm approaches maturity and has become stronger and more robust, it gnaws into the more solid heart-wood, forming a flattish and not a cylindrical hole such as is formed by most other borers, the burrow which it excavates being twice as broad as it is high; the height measuring the tenth of an inch or slightly over.

It is in the latter part of summer that these worms thus sink themselves into the solid heart-wood of the tree, their burrow extending upwards from the spot under the bark where they had previously dwelt. On laying open one of these burrows you will find it is more than an inch in length and all its lower part is filled and blocked up with the fine sawdust—like castings of the worm. Thus, when the worm is destined to lay torpid and inactive during the long months of winter, it has the forethought to place itself in a safe and secure retreat, within the solid wood of the tree, with the hole leading to its cell plugged up so as effectually to prevent any enemy from gaining admission to it. Still this worm is not able to secure itself entirely from those parasitic insects which are the destroyers of so many other species of their race, and which, as is currently remarked, appear to have been created for the express purpose of preying upon those species in order to prevent their becoming excessively multiplied. We should expect that this and other borers, lying as they do beneath the bark or within the wood of trees, would be so securely shielded that it would be impossible for any insect enemy to discover and gain access to them to molest or destroy them. The larvae, or caterpillars, belong to the family of Chalcidiae, the female of which has the instinct to discover these borers, probably in the earlier periods of their life when they are lying directly beneath the bark, and piercing through the bark with her ovipositor and puncturing the skin of the borer, drops her eggs therein, which subsequently hatch and subsist upon the borer, eventually destroying it.

One of the most important of vegetables cultivated in Brown county is the cabbage and is subject to the attacks of quite a number of caterpillars and moths, some of which prey voraciously upon it. It has many enemies—among the worst being the common white butterfly, *Pieris rapae* by name. The eggs are laid on the under side of the cabbage leaf and the pale green caterpillars, which are about an inch long, bore into the hearts of cabbages and are very destructive. The adult butterflies are about two inches across the wings.

OUR WILD BIRDS *

Brown county lies directly in the path of the great bird migrating route which, commencing somewhere in Central America, crosses the Gulf of Mexico, follows the waters of the Mississippi, the Wisconsin, the Fox and our own bay and the great lakes leading to Canada, the ultimate destination for the most northerly birds.

Located as it is with its broad sheet of water, adjacent to marshes and sloughs, and the green wooded shores east and west of the bay, Brown county is the Eldorado for birddom and offers to the student of bird life a rich and attractive

* A paper written by August Buengener, who for years has made a study of this subject.

field for observation. Out for a cruise any pleasant summer day on our beautiful bay, witness the thousands of gulls, manifold in size and markings, from the small dove-like kind to the large herring gull, the wading birds from the little sand-piper to the tall blue heron, the green heron and sand hill crane, all summer residents here. In fall, stop your boat in the tall rushes in one of the sloughs or in bass channel and wait motionless for a moment, and you will see them come out; the trim, short tailed rice hen, the little rail, both dark in complexion; close by a string of grebes or hell divers and a larger flock of *poules d'eau*; suddenly rings out a shot near by, and a cloud of black birds comes loudly whirling over the scene like a gust of wind giving the general alarm. Then hear the shouting, scolding, and trumpeting from the tall grass and bulrushes and be surprised at their numbers.

The game birds—well, they are in evidence, but you do not easily get within speaking distance of them, especially not in the open season. But get out your field glass and scan the bay's surface. Many times you will see hundreds of ducks strung along on or near sand bars, the much coveted canvasback perhaps in company with the redheads. Then there are the bluebill, widgeon, pin tail, whistler, shoveller, sawbill and butterball, mostly non-residents, stopping here a short time in spring and a longer period in fall. The mallard and woodduck and the green and blue wing teal are more or less summer residents here, and with their young broods sometimes give you a moment's welcome surprise when gliding in your canoe through the sloughs.

In early spring, when the bay is hardly free of ice, various kinds of geese and the graceful whistling swans on their journey to their northern breeding grounds often make a stop over here of weeks. Point au Sable offers a good viewpoint, from where you can see hundreds in not too great a distance holding an animated and loud enough conversation distinctly within your hearing.

The smaller game on our marshes and lowlands—jacksnipe, plover, and woodcock, mostly summer residents here—are usually on the wing before our eye meets them.

The number and species of water birds frequenting this region is much greater than a casual observer has any idea of, and even those who during the hunting season are out early and late in quest of duck, goose or *pouille d'eau* are puzzled when it comes to name all that bob up here and there.

Land birds also are noticeably better represented here than in most sections, owing, as above stated, to this county's favorable location, but without some painstaking we notice only the few species such as sparrows, robins, martins, blackbirds and crows, while hosts of others are waiting for recognition.

I may here mention a locality favored by many varieties, and that is Dutchman's creek above the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad bridge, for thrushes, wrens, vireos, warblers, the blackbill cuckoo and the scarlet tanager are found here. In another direction, on our way to Redbanks, taking the lower bay shore road, the surroundings for bird life all along are nearly perfect, and here we meet with almost anything on wings. In a little clump of low trees and brush at White Gables I have counted twenty birds' nests in a radius of fifteen feet. It is here where, besides a full quota of other species, some of the rarer birds, the yellow billed cuckoo, the cerulean warbler and the white eyed vireo, are frequenters if not permanent summer dwellers.

This much of our wild birds in a general way. Not everybody, except the student and bird lover, cares to go into a detailed description of them, but he who is aiming to make closer acquaintance with them, and who has not the time or occasion for outings in summer and especially in the early spring, can get that pleasurable initial experience of seeing, hearing and identifying his first twenty-five birds by watching his rear yard or garden from a convenient window. Of course you need a bird book, an eye for observing, and just a trifle of patience. In this manner I have identified forty varieties of our common birds in one season within the precinct of my own and two or three adjoining lots which I will name here, viz.:

English Common Sparrow.	Kingbird.
Chipping Sparrow.	The Least Flycatcher.
Song Sparrow.	Crested Flycatcher.
White Throated Sparrow.	American Gold Finch.
White Crowned Sparrow.	Baltimore Oriole.
Fox Sparrow.	Ovenbird.
Robin.	American Redstart.
Catbird or Northern Mockingbird.	Yellow Summer Warbler.
Wilson or Veery Thrush.	Mourning Warbler.
Brown Thrasher.	Black Throated Blue Warbler.
Cedar Wax Wing.	Black and White Warbler.
Blue Jay.	Warbling Vireo.
Crow blackbird or Purple Grackle.	Redeyed Vireo.
Cowbird.	Chickadee.
Evening Grossbeak.	Ruby Crowned Kinglet.
Nighthawk.	Ruby Throated Green Humming Bird.
Chimney Swift.	Slate Colored Junco.
Martin.	Flicker or Yellow Hammer.
Barn Swallow.	Red Headed Wood Pecker.
House Wren.	Yellow Bellied Sap Sucker.
Peewee.	

These are of course not nearly all the land birds that frequent the city. Many more might be added by the diligent student, for the maxim of an eminent authority, "that section produces the greatest variety of birds which is most examined," also applies here.

Mornings and evenings in March, April and May, watch your lilac and other shrubs and trees for the various little sharp billed warblers and the ruby crested kinglet. They are in the city for a stopover, that is if spring comes in gradually, otherwise you are not sure of many. Pay attention to every call note, ignoring the English Sparrow and the Robin, and your list will grow and with it your interest in the subject of bird life.

BIRDS THAT WINTER IN THIS COUNTY AND LATITUDE

Northern Shrike or Butcher Bird—arrives here in November and stays until April.

Chickadee—abundant in fall and winter.

American Crow.

Horned Lark—arrives from the north in flocks in October and returns in March.

Purple Finch—generally in flocks.

Flicker or Yellow Hammer—winter residents, but majority of them come in March.

American Goldfinch—changes his summer color to yellowish white beneath and greenish brown above—his bright yellow and black no longer distinguish him.

Blue Jay.

Junco or Snowbird—changes from gray and slate to light gray, common in winter, forages in flocks, is seen along the roadside.

Kingfisher—except in extreme cold winters.

Nuthatch—white bellied.

Snow Flake or Snow Bunting—a winter visitor.

Cedar Wax Wing—is seen here in winter, wanders about according to food supply.

Hairy Wood Pecker.

Yellow Bellied Sap Sucker—in spring and fall more abundant.

The Evening Grosbeak—interesting winter visitant, always in flocks—body brownish yellow, crown and wings black, beak large, are seen feeding on seeds of the box elder or on dried crabs still on the trees.

Partridge, Grouse, Prairie Chickens, Owls and Hawks remain in winter.

Were I to name the four most desirable and attractive song birds that enliven and adorn our premises and parks, the Bluebird, the Catbird, Baltimore Oriole and the Song Sparrow would likely rank first with most bird lovers and it is with regret that the first named, at one time plentiful almost in our business streets, has retired to more remote haunts to make room for the useless bold sparrow. Then the noble Catbird is not heard as much about the garden as in times past and the causes for this may be the cutting away of protecting shrubs for its nest, which is too easily discovered, and on account of the unpopular name derived from the warning meow it sounds when danger is nigh, this bird undeservedly is often the target of the boys' air gun.

In order to reinstate the Bluebird it has been suggested to fasten permanent and substantial bird boxes up ten to fifteen feet against the back side of the house or barn, the entrance hole about four to five inches from the bottom and to be one and a half inches round without any perch—as this is said to prevent the sparrows from easily getting possession.

Let us banish the air gun and sling shot from April 1st to October 1st—do away with those cats that have become habitual bird hunters, and last, but not least, reduce the hordes of English Sparrows in every way possible.

THE OLD COURT HOUSE

The old court house built on St. John's Square in 1836-8. Moved to corner of Adams and Cass streets about 1844.

"Some time about 1836-8 Green Bay was in need of a place for public meetings and a citizens' subscription was raised and a building put up and enclosed but for want of funds was not finished at first. It was used as a carpenter shop in the lower story and later a room was finished in the second story for a school

room. It was purchased by the county for a court house and used as such until 1864."—Curtis R. Merrill MS. papers.

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS

On January 14, 1868, Golden Rule Encampment of Independent Order of Odd Fellows was established, now known as the Green Bay Lodge. Later the property known as the Curtis place on Grignon street was purchased and much enlarged for an old people's and orphan's home. It is the oldest next to the Masons of the many secret and benevolent societies now successfully established in Brown county.

BROWN COUNTY LODGES

The following Secret and Benevolent Societies have lodges in Brown county:
Masonic.

I. O. O. F.

C. S. P. S.

Catholic Knights of Wisconsin.

Catholic Order of Foresters.

Women's Catholic Order of Foresters.

Danish Brotherhood.

Fraternal Order of Eagles.

Elks.

Equitable Fraternal Union.

G. A. R.

Knights of Columbus.

Knights of Pythias.

Knights and Ladies of Honor.

Knights and Ladies of the Maccabees.

Loyal Order of Moose.

Modern Brotherhood of America.

Modern Woodmen of America.

Royal Neighbors.

National Fraternal League.

National Protective League.

Royal Arcanum.

Turners.

Sons of Veterans.

Ansgar Society.

Brewers Benevolent Society.

Catholic Relief and Beneficiary Association.

Lady Ansgars.

St. Leo's Benevolent Association of the Roman Catholic Priests of the Diocese of Green Bay.

Eastern Star.

Rebekah.

T. O. Howe Women's Relief Corps.



ODD FELLOWS' BUILDING, GREEN BAY



ST. JOSEPH'S ORPHAN ASYLUM



ELKS' CLUB HOUSE, GREEN BAY

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

BROWN COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY

The Brown County Medical Society was organized in 1877 and after some years of fluctuating fortunes was reorganized in 1904.

BROWN COUNTY HORTICULTURAL AND AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY

Brown County Horticultural Society and Agricultural Society was organized as the Brown County Agricultural Society in 1856. Holds annual fair at De Pere Driving Park.

NORTHEASTERN POULTRY AND PET STOCK ASSOCIATION

The Northeastern Poultry and Pet Stock Association holds a dog and poultry exhibit annually at Green Bay.

TWO PROMINENT MEN IN BROWN COUNTY POLITICS

Andrew E. Elmore connected with the political life of Brown county for many years was prominent for his long service as a member of the State Board of Charities and Reforms. Mr. Elmore was appointed upon the board's organization in 1871, was made vice-president in 1877 and the following year president of the organization. He continued an active and valued member until the board was dissolved and reorganized in 1905 as the State Board of Control.

Of Thomas R. Hudd as a legislator "Bench and Bar in Wisconsin" says: 'He was an able champion of the principles of the democratic party. As a legislator he was progressive, active and influential; his sympathies were in favor of liberal laws for the unfortunates and his judgment impelled him to favor liberal measures for the advancement of education.

CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN BROWN COUNTY

By N. H. Mollen

ST. MARY'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, DEPERE, WIS.

The second oldest church in the city is St. Mary's. In 1869 the Hollanders of Depere voted to form a parish of their own and, accordingly, a suitable building was put up. This was greatly enlarged later on. A school and a priest's house were also built, but it remained for the present rector, Rev. Wm. Van Roosmalen, to improve the property by causing a new parsonage to be built, also an addition to the school.

The congregation, consisting of about three hundred and seventy-five families, mostly Hollanders, is one of the most flourishing in the city and, perhaps, in Brown county. When sufficient capital is at hand a modern church building will be erected. Most of the children attend the parish school which is well graded and efficiently taught. Nuns from Milwaukee are in charge, and have nearly three hundred pupils enrolled.

ST. JOSEPH'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, WEST DEPERE, WIS.

The "Shrine," as it is often called, is one of the most beautifully decorated places of divine worship in Brown county. Much as this adds to its interest, another attraction has brought it still more into prominence. This is St. Joseph's Archconfraternity of North America, canonically established by Rev. J. F. Durin toward the end of the last century. During the public, solemn novena, held annually in March, hundreds of clients of St. Joseph come here for nine consecutive days to pray to him. They believe with the poet that prayer is "man's rational prerogative." But the climax is reached on his feast, March 19th, when even standing room is sometimes at a premium, on account of the impressive religious exercises carried out on that day.

The Very Rev. B. H. Pennings, O. Praem., the pastor of the congregation, has also under his direction a convent of Premonstratensian (Norbertine) Fathers who act as assistants to pastors in the surrounding country whenever needed.

The members of the parish are chiefly French; but there are some of Irish, Holland, and German nationality. The parish includes about one hundred and forty families. Sermons alternate between French and English. Plans are in preparation at this writing for a new school building which will cost \$10,000.00, and accommodate two hundred children.

ST. BONIFACE'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, WEST DEPERE, WIS.

In 1883 the Hollanders of the city found it necessary to form a new parish, owing to the rapid increase in their numbers. Thus St. Boniface's congregation was organized and a church built by these thrifty people, on the west side of the Fox river. Rev. A. M. Smitz, who still acts as their pastor, was appointed to take charge.

The younger members of the parish are practically all Americans, and so speak English. On this account sermons are given in English as well as in Dutch. About two hundred and forty families are registered. Rev. A. M. Smitz is being assisted by Rev. H. De Kort, O. Praem., of St. Norbert's College.

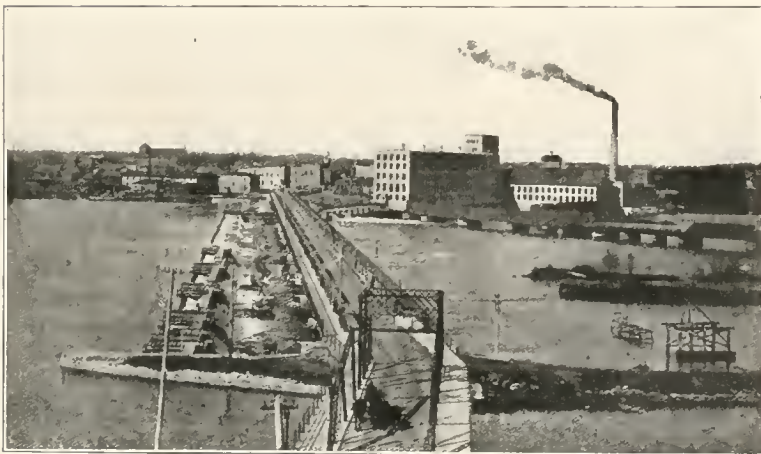
The pride of this parish is its school. Many bright boys and girls have graduated from it, and are now successful men and women in the business world. To them "Knowledge is now no more a fountain seal'd." There are over two hundred and fifty pupils in attendance. The teaching is done by five nuns of the Order of St. Francis.

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, DEPERE, WIS.

That handsome structure, known as St. Francis Xavier's Church, occupies a pleasant and convenient location on the east side of the Fox river. It is but two blocks away from the beautiful and historic river; while the interurban car passes its doors. The high steeple can be seen from all parts of the city. Fifty-seven and more years ago the Catholics, not only of this parish, but also those living in all Depere and vicinity, were obliged to attend divine services at the old French church in Green Bay. Though "The path of duty leads to



ST. NORBERT'S COLLEGE, DE PERE



DE PERE BRIDGE, DAM, AND PAPER MILLS



happiness," yet this path is not always a pleasant one, and in their case it required many sacrifices. It was then that a rude building was constructed where the present church stands. This was the first church in Depere. Later on three other parishes were formed with centers in the city.

St. Francis Xavier's Congregation is distinctly Irish in nationality, although the French and the Germans are also represented. Among them are included some of the most influential business men in the city. Sermons are preached in English. There are at present about two hundred families listed. With their help the Rev. G. Dillon intends to put up a modern parochial school building. When this is completed the parish will be one of the best in the city. The school is conducted by nuns from Milwaukee. It has an attendance of some eighty-five pupils. The ordinary branches are taught, with the addition of Christian Doctrine.

ST. NORBERT'S COLLEGE, WEST DEPERE, WIS.

At the request of the Most Reverend S. G. Messmer, the Premonstratensian (Norbertine) Fathers came to the Green Bay diocese in the year 1893. On the twenty-eighth of September, 1898, they were publicly installed in their new convent at Depere. The chief object of the Fathers in coming to the United States was to take charge of parishes. They decided, however, to teach a few young men aspiring to the priesthood. These applied for an education in October, 1898. They coveted learning and were willing to climb. Of yearnings like theirs the poet speaks:

"Do you covet learning's prize?
Climb her heights and take it.
In ourselves our fortune lies;
Life is what we make it."

This was the origin of St. Norbert's College. The parochial residence was enlarged in 1899 in order to meet the demands of a rapidly increasing number of students. Some five or six boarders were admitted the next year. Soon the available accommodations were overtaxed.

The ninth of May, 1901, is to be set down as a red-letter day in the history of St. Norbert's. A meeting was then called at the newly-established priory. Among those present were Bishop (now Archbishop) Messmer, Vicar General (now Bishop) Fox, some of the leading diocesan clergy, Prior B. H. Pennings, and his Council. The consensus of the prelates and the clergy assembled was: to erect an up-to-date college; to admit both commercial and classical students; and to strengthen the Faculty by securing expert teachers for the business branches. At this meeting the Fathers of St. Norbert received hearty encouragement.

In the year 1902 a brick building, 116 feet by 64 feet, four stories high, was put up at a cost of forty thousand dollars. It was built in a beautiful position on the picturesque banks of the Fox river, at the limits of Depere, away from the smoke and hum of life in a big city. The building is commodious, bright, well ventilated, comfortable, and modern in every respect. From an architect-

tural point of view it is one of the finest structures to be found in the vicinity. It is lighted by electricity, heated by steam, and, in a word, nothing has been left undone that might contribute to the convenience of students. In February, 1913, the College narrowly escaped being burned to ashes. The fire was discovered in time and was promptly extinguished by the Depere fire departments.

St. Norbert's College is a Catholic boarding school for young men. Its purpose is to complete the instruction received in grammar and high schools and to lay a broad foundation for higher education. Within its walls young men are prepared for theological seminaries, for schools of law, medicine, etc., and for commercial careers. To meet these requirements the College presents two courses—classical and commercial. There is also a preparatory department for students whose mental attainments are not up to the College requirements. St. Norbert's is affiliated with the National Business Colleges Federation. It is also a member of the Wisconsin Association of Commercial Schools. These facts guarantee the high standard of commercial instruction given here, since only institutions of the first rank are admitted to the federations mentioned. A communication from Mr. C. P. Cary, State Superintendent, dated June 25, 1907, stated "that St. Norbert's College has the right to confer suitable degrees and grant diplomas."

Being Catholic in principle as well as in tone, the social atmosphere of this institution is admirably well adapted for the preservation and fostering of the purest morals. Parents want a safe as well as a progressive school. St. Norbert's was founded for this very end, and is succeeding beyond expectation in its high mission.

There are, on an average, one hundred students, the majority of whom come from Wisconsin and Michigan. Their intellectual needs are provided for by a corps of eighteen teachers.

The Very Rev. B. H. Pennings, O. Praem., founder of the college, still acts as its President.

The Director, the Rev. J. A. Van Heertum, O. Praem. has held office since the fall of 1903.

LIST OF CHURCHES OUTSIDE OF GREEN BAY AND DEPERE

Prepared by Rev. Joseph A. Marx.

The Roman Catholic Churches throughout Brown county outside of Green Bay and De Pere are:

Askeaton, Bay Settlement, Duck Creek, Eaton, Flintville (Chase), Glenmore, Denmark (Stark), Holland, Humboldt, Morrison, East Wrightstown, New Franken, Pine Grove, Preble, Pulaski, Krakow, Wrightstown.

Chapels are: St. Vincent's Hospital, St. Mary's Hospital, Good Shepherd Convent, St. Joseph's Academy, Cathedral school sisters, St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, Bishop's house, Bay settlement Sister's Convent, St. Patrick's School (Sisters), St. Norbert's Priory, De Pere; Pulaski.

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